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VOL. XXI No. 84

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

DECEMBER 1932

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MATT TALBOT

1856–1925

A Symbol of the Irish Nation

BY JOSEPH E. CANAVAN, S.J.

MATT TALBOT was a Dubliner, born and bred. He was born at 13 Aldborough Court on the 2 May 1856; baptized in the Pro-Cathedral three days later; did his schooling with the Christian Brothers at North Richmond Street; became a messenger boy at the age of twelve to a firm of wine-merchants, where he learned to drink; then, through his father (who had charge of the bonded stores), got a job as messenger boy in the Port and Docks Board, in which employment he learnt that whiskey was a better drink than porter. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather were Dublin men; his mother a Dublin girl. He himself never left the city, and moved about certain parts of it only. Dublin has an exclusive right to Matt Talbot.

For fifteen years Matt Talbot was a drunkard. He was downright in vice, just as afterwards he was downright in the practice of virtue. By Tuesday his wages had all gone, and he pawned his boots. He never gave a shilling to his parents, with whom he lived. He went to Mass on Sundays, and blessed himself in the morning when he woke. He never went to the Sacraments.

Then one day, quite suddenly, Matt said to his mother: "I am going to take the pledge." She only half believed him, but said, gently: "Go in God's name; but don't take it unless you are going to keep it." And as he turned to leave the house, Mrs. Talbot sent a prayer with him, like a good Irish mother: "God give you strength

to keep it." God heard the prayer, and gave Matt strength to keep the pledge and to do much else that was, perhaps, far harder; and from that moment Matt entered upon the manner of life that has filled the world with wonder.

This life was perfectly colourless from the point of view of a man of the world. Mr. Sheed in his essay on Matt Talbot describes it in a few sentences: "He was a bricklayer's labourer from the age of seventeen until at thirty-six he became a labourer in a timber yard (Messrs. T. and C. Martin, North Wall), and so remained until he died at sixty-nine. Nothing ever happened to him. He seems to have had no accidents; nor, till the last couple of years, even an illness. He wrote one letter in his life. He never went outside Dublin. He never married, nor had he so much as a love affair. Not one man in a thousand has so eventless a life: and when you find such a man, he is usually pallid to match, lifeless and featureless" (*The Irish Way*, p. 328). He lived in stirring times—through the Labour troubles of 1911, the Great War, the Black and Tan War, the Civil War—and yet never took sides, hardly expressed an opinion, except in the most indirect and guarded way, and went on loading his timber in Messrs. Martin's yards as if everything in the world except his lorries had come to a standstill. He never looked at placards, nor read a newspaper. The Anti-Conscription campaign had gone on for six months before he heard of it from a friend. All during the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-1921 he went through his customary round at his own set times, as if nothing were afoot, though the whole country was agog with excitement and Dublin's nerves, in particular, were on stretch. He walked through the streets of the city with long, quick steps, his eyes on the ground. The movement of things, which is human history, had no apparent interest for him. His bearing towards it was entirely negative, more entirely negative than if he were

an anchorite in a desert. Behind this detachment, however, there was fierce affirmation. He did not look so steadfastly at the ground because he found it interesting, nor turn his eyes away from the sights of life because he hated them, but because his gaze was fixed on some ravishing beauty that held it fast. When he did lift his eyes to look at the world, his glance fell on the mission-fields of China; and, poor though he was, he opened his purse to their appeal. Matt Talbot, as we shall see, was not negative; he was the most positive of men, seeking to possess his sensitive peace of soul amid the noise of ephemeral things. He avoided the mistake those people make who see and hear everything in their immediate neighbourhood, and who, as a result, hardly ever look at anything else, and never at anything so remote as the mission-lands of the Church.

When Matt Talbot took the pledge in 1884, he found that if he meant to keep it, he would have to keep off the streets. So he spent all the time outside his working hours in a church, praying for strength and for the gift of prayer. He heard the 5 o'clock Mass in Gardiner Street, until 1892 when the 5 o'clock Mass was discontinued and the hour was changed to 6.15. Matt saw that he could not hear Mass every morning and remain a builder's labourer, because the labourer's day began at 6 o'clock; so he resolved to dominate circumstances—a characteristic of all positive and forceful men—by getting work elsewhere. He found suitable employment at Messrs. Martin's, for work did not begin there till 8 o'clock. He remained with this firm for nearly thirty-three years.

On his way to hear the 9 o'clock Mass in Dominic Street church on Trinity Sunday, 7 June 1925, Matt Talbot collapsed and died on the footpath on the left-hand side of Granby Lane. The Corporation Ambulance took the body to Jervis Street Hospital. One of the nuns came with a nurse to prepare the body for burial.

As her scissors ripped the shabby clothes, they struck something hard. Subsequently, the men who undressed Matt Talbot's body signed the following statement: "On Sunday, 7 June 1925, a dead body was brought in the Corporation Ambulance to Jervis Street Hospital. On the body being identified, it proved to be Mr. Matt Talbot, and when we the undersigned undressed the remains we found chains, ropes and beads on the said body. Around the middle of his waist were two chains and a knotted rope. One chain we took to be an ordinary chain used as a horse trace, and the other a little thinner. Both were entwined by a knotted rope, and medals were attached to the chain by cords. Both were deeply embedded in the flesh and rusted. Also on the left arm was found a light chain tightly wound above the elbow, and on the right arm above the elbow a knotted cord. On his left leg a chain was bound round with a cord below the knee, and on the right leg, in the same position, was some heavy knotted cord."

If Matt Talbot had not died thus in the public streets, we might never have heard of him. He knew how to keep his secrets. He revealed himself partly to some, wholly to no one, perhaps not even to his confessors. He was anonymous in his good works, never but once putting his signature to them. Directors of sodalities and confraternities hardly knew him, though he was so punctual in his attendance that, during the first twenty years of his membership of the Franciscan Third Order, he was absent only twice from the monthly meetings. His fellow-members, though they recognised his piety, did not study his ways closely. But for the accident of his death in Granby Lane he would still be an unknown servant of God. Perhaps he was able to keep his secret so well because in Dublin, among the people with whom he lived and worked, uncommon holiness is not uncommon. Perhaps Matt Talbot is a type: and types are anonymous. But when the accident of his death disclosed his

instruments of penance, people began to ask what manner of man he was. Fortunately, through the industry of Sir Joseph Glynn, we are able to appraise Matt Talbot.

Following Sir Joseph Glynn's account closely, I will give a rapid summary of Matt Talbot's positive life, by which I mean the things he did, in contrast to the things, I have already related, which he did not do. The account describes Matt Talbot's habits for the last fourteen years, at least, of his life.

Matt went to bed between 10.30 and 11 o'clock. He had nailed together two rough, unplaned planks and laid them on a small bedstead; and on these he slept ever since he had moved into a room in Gloucester Street in 1884. His pillow was a block of wood, which made him deaf in course of time. For covering he used half a blanket and, if the night were cold, an old sack. He kept the chains and ropes, night and day, around his waist, on his arms and legs—the chains eating into his flesh and rusting. At 2 o'clock in the morning he got up to pray, kneeling erect for the most part, either on the floor or on the bed, with his arms outstretched. Sometimes he threw himself full length on the floor, praying in an audible voice. A small lamp cast a dim light so that his mother, sleeping in another corner of the room, could see and hear the energy of his prayer. If his prayers were finished before 4 o'clock, Matt lay down on his planks and rested till 4 struck, when he got up again, dressed himself and prayed till sometime before 5 o'clock. He then started off to hear Mass. In his younger days he went to Clarendon Street, where the Sacristan admitted him before the church doors were opened to the public at 6 o'clock. In later years he went to Gardiner Street, where he arrived about 5 o'clock, and knelt, in all weathers, on the steps of the convent or near the iron railings of the church till the doors were opened at 5.30. He always knelt on his bare knees, as he had slit his trousers lengthwise at the knees. While waiting for Mass to begin, he made the

Stations of the Cross; and during Mass he knelt bolt upright with no support. He went to Communion every morning. Mass and thanksgiving over, he went straight home, and took cocoa prepared the night before by his sister and some dry bread. On his way to work he stopped to pay a visit at St. Laurence O'Toole's—" to see Our Lord on the way down," as he told one of the foremen. He was at work by 7.45; and during his long years of service he was never once late. At 12.30 he took tea and dry bread; and from 1920 he mixed a pinch of cocoa with a pinch of tea, and drank this disgusting brew out of a can cap coated with cocoa sediment—for he never washed it, nor let anybody else wash it. In the intervals, while Matt waited for the lorries to return, he prayed in his shack or under the piles of drying timber. The day's work done, he dropped in again to St. Laurence O'Toole's on his way home. His sister had his dinner ready at his lodgings. He ate it on his knees, and spent the rest of the evening in attending the Sodalities and Confraternities to which he belonged, in spiritual reading, or in uninterrupted prayer.

On Sundays he remained in the church—either St. Francis Xavier's or the Franciscan church on Merchants' Quay or the Pro-Cathedral—from the moment it was opened till 1.30, when the final benediction had been given. After his midday meal—the first food since 6 o'clock on the previous evening—he spent the hours till bedtime in spiritual reading and prayer.

As you see, he set aside no time for relaxation. On the contrary, he added penances to his stern regularity. And in his penances, as in his order of time, he gave himself no respite. They were not spasmodic, performed at intervals, with periods of comparative ease in between. No Carnivals preceded his Lents, no Paschal season followed them. He wore chains and ropes about his body always. He prayed, dined, slept, worked in discomfort. " It is constancy God wants," Matt once said

to a friend. God got what He wanted from Matt Talbot.

His fasts, too, were rigorous, and, practically, unbroken. While he lived in Gloucester Street, he abstained from meat on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. A friend who knew him well has told us that during nine months of the year Matt Talbot never ate meat. Sir Joseph Glynn has given an account of Matt's fasts (*Life of Matt Talbot*, p. 69): "During Lent complete black-fast on every day on two slight meals without butter, meat or milk. During June, in honour of the Sacred Heart, a similar black-fast. Every Friday, Saturday, and vigil of a Feast, a black-fast. Every Wednesday no meat, but, occasionally, a little butter. Probably the full Franciscan fasts after their abrogation by Pope Leo XIII. . . . When he was getting old he found a difficulty in swallowing dry bread, and to enable him to eat it without butter he got his sister to boil a whiting and steep the bread in the water in which the whiting had been cooked. He did not eat the whiting."

When Matt was earning less than £1 a week, he lived on 6s. a week, including rent. When, in 1921-1922, he was earning a little over £3 a week, he spent only 10s. on all his needs—rent, food, and subscription to his Trade Union. The cost of living had risen by then. He gave away in charity what remained, every penny of it. "Matt had no use for money," said a fellow-worker. The sums he gave in charity were astounding. He often handed as much as £5 at a time to the priest in charge of the sodality in Gardiner Street, with the request that the money should be given in charity. He told his foreman that he had given £30 a year to the Maynooth Mission to China; and he assured his sister that he had "finished three priests and was at the fourth." Since these statements cannot be verified by a search through the books of the Mission, we can only conclude that Matt, as he usually did, gave his donations anonymously.

The only letter he ever wrote deals with a bequest. It is addressed to the Maynooth Mission: "Matt Talbot has done no work for the past eighteen months. I don't think I will work any more. Here is £1 from me and 10s. from my sister." In point of fact, the whole sum of thirty shillings had come out of his savings, ten shillings being given in his sister's name in gratitude for her attention during his illness. Some of Matt's friends had insisted on his accepting gifts of money during his long sickness; and when the 30s. was drawn from the savings, there was nothing left. The letter was written in December 1924. In the following June he died. Did you ever before hear of a man, out of work, stricken with a fatal illness, giving away every penny he had saved? Could courage go further, could charity be more compelling? Generosity like this, owing no account of itself to a narrow prudence, is characteristic of heroes and saints.

Matt Talbot may have read in some theological or devotional work—his reading in these matters was astonishing in its range and depth—that we should give away in charity all that we did not need for the upkeep of our state of life. He may have argued thus: "I am a labourer. The upkeep of my state makes slender demands on my purse—the rent of a room in a tenement house, a couple of shabby suits of clothes; my food does not cost much; my plank bed needs no sheets. By necessity I am a labourer; by choice, a penitential labourer." He may have thought it a duty to give away what he did not reasonably need for his upkeep: and he interpreted the word "reasonably" very strictly indeed. Matt had a way of taking very seriously and literally, without any gloss, the counsels of perfection.

Matt Talbot never did anything by halves. In his youth he spent all his money on liquor; later he spent all his time and energy in the service of God. This little man had his ambitions. He had set his heart on attaining what only the bravest can aspire to—the fixed atten-

tion to divine things, the recollection of a contemplative in the movement and noise of a city—and he pursued his purpose, cost what it might, until he achieved it. He was made of stern stuff.

II

On the heroic quality of Matt Talbot's virtues the Holy See must pass judgment. But, whether he be a saint or not, he appears to me to be a fitting symbol of the Irish people. Mr. Sheed, in his able essay on Matt Talbot (p. 327), says very aptly: "No Irish layman has been canonised: till our own day no Irish layman had even been thought of for canonisation. Bishops, abbots, nuns: but not a layman. That, it may be, is the significance of Matt Talbot. He may or may not come to be canonised; but saint or not he is a superb symbol—the adequate and satisfying representative of that special quality of Irish Catholicness. He is authentically the Irish Catholic layman—the thing itself concentrated, stripped of irrelevance. In a sense he is scarcely an Irishman: he is the Irish Catholic. He has no meaning save a religious meaning. Take away from him what is Catholic and there is nothing left. He is totally Catholic, and his Catholicity is totally of the Irish sort." Later in the essay Mr. Sheed says: "When his union called a strike he went on strike with the others, having satisfied himself that strikes could be justified and that, knowing nothing of the matter, he might in conscience trust his fellows; but he refused to picket. And the men decided that, even so, he should receive his full strike pay: they recognised that he was different; for this was Ireland." And at the end: "There is no looking at Matt Talbot without feeling that he is a perfect symbol of the Irish people at prayer: not one sort of Irishman but the Irishman as such—the Irishman stripped down to his Catholicism. . . . He is the essence of Irishman: every Irishman smells a little of

Matt Talbot unless he is lost altogether. And if he is canonised, a host of unknown Irishmen will be raised to the altars with him."

That is an interesting opinion, true as far as it goes, of the significance of Matt Talbot. The question is: Does it go deep enough? When Mr. Sheed says, for example, that Matt Talbot has no meaning save a religious meaning, he does not thereby distinguish Talbot sharply from many others, from the Little Flower or the Curé d'Ars. The biographer of the Curé d'Ars, like the biographer of Matt Talbot, could not separate the work done from the man who did it. Neither biographer could ignore the man in his description of events, because there were no events in these lives other than a continuous growth in holiness; and the life of Matt Talbot, as we have seen, was eventless, more eventless than even the life of the Curé d'Ars. To have no meaning save a religious meaning is not peculiar to Irishmen like Matt Talbot.

All the same there *is* something distinctively Irish about Matt Talbot. No one would claim that every Frenchman smells a little of the Curé d'Ars. Matt Talbot is so distinctively Irish, because every Irishman is like Matt Talbot, whereas every Frenchman does not participate of the Curé d'Ars. When, therefore, Mr. Sheed says that "in a sense Matt Talbot is scarcely an Irishman: he is the Irish Catholic," I feel that I must disagree. The authentic Irishman and the Irish Catholic are one and the same thing; the Irishman true to type in every dimension and quality must be a Catholic; the inmost spring of his activity, the operative first principles of his life must be Catholic, and of a special kind; he must be a man wedded to the Catholic Faith. In Matt Talbot this inner core of the Irish character stands out stripped of all irrelevancies. "Take away from him what is Catholic," says Mr. Sheed, "and there is nothing left." We would add: "Take away from the Irish nation what

is Catholic, and there is nothing left. It is totally Catholic, and its Catholicity is totally of the Irish sort." To be Irish and a certain kind of Catholic are, in my opinion, convertible terms.

If, then, the Holy See canonises Matt Talbot, he may become, in other countries, the patron of workingmen's organisations; but in our own country he will be the symbol of all we have stood for down the centuries, of that cherished, supernatural heritage that has made us what we are. We share our deepest convictions with Matt Talbot. In us they are overlaid by temporal cares; but all the same they are our last stay and support. They teach us how to bear success without arrogance and defeat without repining. They console us in trouble, brace our courage, fashion our kindness and courtesy, and start the tears of our contrition. Even though we are only half Irish and half human nature, the Irish half of us, at least, understands Matt Talbot. We admire the stark logic of his inferences from truths we all admit. For us, the circumference on which these truths operate is drawn wide through many cares; in him the circumference was drawn very close to his own soul. He is the abstract Irishman made concrete, the essential Irishman divested of accidents. He is Irish human nature without alloy. That is why we sympathise with him. For us, whatever he be for others, he is extraordinary but not bizarre, arresting but not fantastic.

The faith that made Matt Talbot what he was, has made and preserved the Irish nation. That is the very portent of our history. I will state the facts briefly, without colour, and, as far as possible, without emphasis.

We lost every political institution that keeps a people intact by rousing in it the consciousness that it is different from others and sufficient for itself: our schools, where national traditions are reverently handled and love of country fostered; our assemblies; our laws; our trained soldiers, even, when the Wild Geese took flight for France;

our natural leaders in one broken movement after the other; our land by wholesale confiscation; and, lastly, the deadliest peril of all, our language, the strongest bar against the foreigner, the strongest bond between the citizens. It had even come to this, that Gaelic was regarded by the Irish themselves as a language which no polite person would dream of using. Besides, Ireland was governed for centuries by those who showed small respect for her sentiments and traditions. Indeed, their single aim, prosecuted with untiring pertinacity, was to extirpate the Irish nation. They harried it with persecution. To make the issue of their work more certain, our governors slandered us through the length and breadth of the earth, and represented us as a race incapable of the arts of peace. It was expected that thus we should become afraid to confess to our nationality at home, and ashamed to acknowledge it abroad.

Now, it has never happened, as far as I know, that a nation treated thus for centuries has survived. It has either soon thrown off the oppression or, absorbed by the invader, has disappeared. Ireland is the exception. Her military history is a record of defeat; her political history is a record of discontent; her social history a record of poverty in a rich land; and yet the nation itself seems to be indestructible. What Rome could not survive, nor the Holy Roman Empire, nor the Kingdom of the Franks, Ireland has survived. If you search out the cause of this remarkable fact, you will find that the Catholic Faith, held so tenaciously, alone explains it. The Irish clung to their Faith with so strong and unshakeable an assent that no human force could withdraw them from their allegiance. This was the strong wall against the foreigner, the bond he never broke.

Moreover, Ireland has preserved her faith at the cost of much suffering. Other nations have had their trials for the Faith, but they were not like hers. They were not so protracted, for one thing. The struggle for them

was bitter, while it lasted, but it ended finally in victory or defeat, and there was peace. Thus, England resisted bravely for a time, but surrendered at length, and its people enjoyed peace by ceasing to challenge any further the usurpations of the Crown. Thus, Hungary bled under the Moslem, but eventually drove him out, and lived and prospered as a Catholic nation. But in Ireland each generation, for many centuries, was born with a presage of suffering. It seemed to be Ireland's simple doom to suffer and live on. How could it have been otherwise? Her nationhood was intertwined with her faith; she kept her distinctness because she kept the faith. The loyalty that brought her severest trials upon her was the very thing that kept her alive. She could have had peace by surrendering the Faith—peace, and good living, and the friendship of the enemy; but she refused to barter her faith even for a thing so precious as peace. Her courage, her obstinate devotion to a spiritual ideal, were stayed upon the Catholic faith. That is why she is alive and vigorous to-day, though defeated in nearly every political venture to which she set her hand. For, however much her enemies mutilated her, they found in each torn fragment the same imperishable thing, "as in the cut fern lies the imaged tree." They came to the Rock on which the Church itself is built.

Is there any other nation for which it could be claimed with anything like the same certainty that its religious belief made, moulded, preserved and marked it out as the Catholic Faith has done for the Irish? Can any other nation boast that this one strand held it together when every other support and asset of nationhood had been swept away? If Ireland had abandoned the Faith she would have ceased to exist as a distinctive nation; and nothing would have remained of her but a feeble memory. Instead of the strong race that now moves about the world and has but lately emerged from a bitter struggle with some light of victory on its arms, you

would have had a dull record known to a few professional historians. We should have been "one with Nineveh and Tyre."

Matt Talbot was not a priest nor a religious, but a layman. He did not belong to a chosen band dedicated by a special call and by ecclesiastical approval, to the service of religion. He was one of the common people; but of a people who explain and justify life by Catholic standards. Is it not significant and appropriate that, in these pagan times, an Irish layman should reveal in its naked vigour that Faith by which the Irish nation lives? Matt Talbot's life was remarkable for one thing only—for the ruthless way in which he applied the Catholic Faith, the essential strength of his nation, to produce supernatural excellence. He ignored every other kind of success. His operative first principles were those of the Faith, and he seemed to use no principles discovered by the natural reason. Though it is true that every saint must live by a vivid faith, it is especially significant that Matt Talbot's faith should have issued in no works that the natural man could do. The effects produced by his faith were purely supernatural. He took no part in organised social action; he founded no institutions—neither religious congregations nor schools nor orphanages nor hospitals; he contributed nothing directly to the better administration either of the Church or the State. He left the world as he found it. Now that he is dead, no memorial of his genius and strength endures to remind us of him. His deeds are writ wholly in the Book of Life, and nowhere else. He has left us a memory—a memory that contains within itself the history of a nation. The faith that is the vestal fire of the Irish nation burned in him with so pure a flame that it returned straight to the source from which it sprang. He did nothing with his faith except to live it, in every detail, in the circumstances in which he found himself.

That is one reason why he, a layman, is a symbol of

Ireland. When all is said and done, when all explanations have been given and all our faults defined, the Irish nation, the Irish layman and the Irish priest, lives by the faith that controlled every movement of Matt Talbot's mind. The refined truths of the faith, which torment others, are homely commonplaces among the Irish; they are woven into the very fibre of their hopes and fears, so that without them our Irish people would not know how to deal with the accidents of time, nor how to explain the world at all. Other peoples may have other resources upon which they could fall back, if some argument or trial shook their faith; some might find it easier then to set life more firmly upon a mercantile basis. But with the Irish it would not be so. They, in the event of such a calamity, would feel as if the sun had fallen from the sky. They might, in time, grow into another people; but they would have to build from the foundations. And for the moment they would be utterly bewildered, like the men round the Tower of Babel, whom God struck. The Faith is the marrow of the Irishman's bones. Matt Talbot lived on the marrow, rejecting everything else.

Moreover, Matt Talbot was austere. The vivid faith that is in the Irish impels them to be austere. The Irish monastic system was so rigorous that, when the Irish monks set up their rule on the European continent, the monks of other nations found it so severe that it had to be mitigated for them. There is not one way only of serving God; many attained to high sanctity under a milder discipline than the Irish. But there is a distinctive Irish way. Every Irish saint treated his body harshly. For the man of faith difficulties become arguments, never doubts. He is not afraid to make assertions, nor of following them up. His tendency is not to protest but to affirm. Physical ills, disease, pain, fatigue, while they impair the intellect, stir faith to activity. Moral evils, say injustice, while they may break the natural

man, rouse the supernatural man to a masterful patience. Faith is the seed of enthusiasm ; and enthusiasm welcomes hardships and scoffs at bodily discomfort.

Furthermore, the man of faith realises that if he is to follow up his convictions, he must liberate himself from the fear of pain and from the craving for sensuous enjoyment. The best way to do so is to go out to meet pain. He will have many powerful motives, besides, for self-denial. He will wish to expiate his own sins and the sins of others, since he will have a piercing sense of sin. And since religion consists essentially in devotion to Another (the more strongly we embrace it, the more forcibly it urges us to identify ourselves with that Other's mind and interests), if that Other, to Whom we seek to be conformed, be Jesus Christ, we set ourselves to reproduce in our own lives the life and bearing of another Man—of " *The* Man," crowned, it is true, but with thorns.

Besides, our history has been austere. The Irish people know that if you want a spiritual blessing you must suffer for it. They know that if one is afraid of pain, he can be deflected easily enough from the pursuit of a spiritual ideal and dispossessed of a spiritual possession. They know that in spite of suffering they have retained the one thing that gives meaning to their lives and hope to their deaths ; that through suffering they have come to understand more intimately what the Faith is and how valuable it is. The self-denial of a whole nation for a supernatural purpose has developed, refined, and expressed the character of the nation. Matt Talbot could have aimed at sanctity without practising rigorous austerities—aimed at it and attained it ; but he would then have attained it not in the Irish way. He could have become a saint ; but a saint outside the Irish tradition.

How persistent that tradition is ! Lough Derg and its pilgrimage are in the direct line of Irish monasticism. And Lough Derg is unique. Lourdes is a holy place, but it is not Lough Derg. Lough Derg is Irish. Matt

Talbot would have felt at home at Lourdes, because the power of the Mother of God would have been all about him. He would have felt at home at Lough Derg, because the place is hard.

Matt Talbot's austerities were the price he had to pay for the supreme gift he asked of God—the gift of prayer. They were the prelude to the fulfilment of his desire. He aimed at being a contemplative, at a conscious, uninterrupted union with God. He was not a Religious hedged about and protected by the discipline of a careful rule. He slept in a crowded tenement, walked through crowded streets, worked on the quayside and in the drying-sheds at Martin's yards. At every moment the world at large about him, the world over which he had no control, offered him the excitement he must avoid. So he schooled himself to self-denial; and God gave him in full the gift of prayer.

In his esteem of prayer and of the Blessed Sacrament Matt Talbot was Irish. There is in every Irishman a mystical sense that finds its satisfaction in the Eucharist, the Sacrament that gives such full union with the Divine. The Irish, when they turn to their prayers, do not look for ceremonial. They fix their attention upon the elemental truths of their faith, stripping them, as Talbot did, of all that is superfluous. When they hear Mass, they pay little heed to the lights and flowers on the altar. They go direct to the Presence. The Congress gave them the chance of showing, as a whole nation, their love for the Blessed Sacrament. For a week the country prayed, almost without pausing to take breath. And when St. Patrick's bell rang in the Park, an entire nation was on its knees. If Talbot had been alive then, he would have been one of a crowd.

The Irish understand Matt Talbot's perspective. He is not different in kind from them; he is the quintessence of what they are or of what, in their inmost hearts, they would like to be. He is not a stranger to them, but a

familiar. If every man's life is a metaphysic in act, then Matt Talbot's and the Irish nation's metaphysic are the same. They are both born in the secret and in the glory. No man ever gave fewer hostages to fortune than Matt Talbot; no nation ever gave fewer hostages to fortune than the Irish. "It is constancy God wants," said Matt Talbot. God found this constancy in Matt Talbot and in the Irish nation. Matt Talbot, therefore, fits in with his Irish surroundings; he is merely the Irish background in higher relief. Just as we are not surprised when we learn that an adroit financier is a Jew, or a successful diplomatist an Englishman, or a brilliant soldier a Frenchman, so we are not surprised that Matt Talbot was an Irishman. And here in Ireland he can be judged on his own ground by his peers, the Irish laymen.

Matt Talbot, then, is our representative man, because he was Irish, a Catholic, an ascetic, a contemplative, poor, and a layman. He is the "concise guide to Ireland."

Our last canonised saint, if we omit the martyrs, was St. Laurence O'Toole, an aristocrat and a prelate. In his church the poor labourer prayed every day, morning and evening, on his way to and from work. The one dispensed the Sacraments, the other received them. They both died in the odour of sanctity. The heart of St. Laurence, they say, rests in Christ Church Cathedral; the bones of Matt Talbot, with chains about them, rest in Glasnevin. May they be an inspiration to us to persevere in the old way, to preserve and develop, in our new opportunities, the nation whose traditions we have inherited. "We keep the past for pride," not as a lifeless memory, but as an active solvent of present difficulties and an augury of the future. It is our task and duty to build up a nation, if I may adapt the words of Patrick Pearse, not Catholic only but Gaelic as well, not Gaelic only but Catholic as well—a nation in which men like Matt Talbot will be true to type. J. E. Canavan

SOVIET RUSSIA

BY JOHN BUSTEED, M.COMM.

Professor of Economics, University College, Cork

RUSSIA is the fashionable obsession of the moment. Since returning from a month's visit there in the summer I have been literally bombarded with questions by all who have met me. Everyone wants to know "What about it all?" A poet or a dramatist would have fashioned a complete answer from an experience of mine in the Red Square in Moscow, where I blundered upon a baptism in a little church a few hundred yards from where I had been gazing at the embalmed body of Lenin. On the one hand the terrific, the incredible, the triumphant Lenin. And a few hundred yards away the little Christian being baptised—small, weak, very unimportant. Why such a contrast? What of the future? The poet would in flashing phrases have given us the whole reply. My answer, however, to "What about it all?" will have to take a more pedestrian course.

First as to the suggestion that a visitor to Russia is led round like a bear on a chain, seeing only what is staged for him, I will content myself with describing it as feeble nonsense.

I met a charming people. They have in a few years accomplished colossal tasks. The Leninist Revolution will undoubtedly leave a deep imprint on the economic structure of the world—just as far-reaching in some directions, and as brutally futile in others, as the French Revolution.

The Basic Philosophy.—Before discussing the undoubted accomplishments of Leninism, it is essential to understand the basic philosophy of the movement. Lenin, who was the head and shoulders of Communism, tells

us clearly: "Our programme is based entirely on materialist philosophy. . . . Marxism cannot be conceived without Atheism. . . . Our programme necessarily includes the propaganda of Atheism." He has no use, however, for those who are merely against religion. Agnosticism is an "attempt to replace the official priests by priests of moral conviction," which is "a cultivation of the most subtle and therefore the most especially loathsome form of clericalism." And atheism proper "without Communism is incomplete and inconsistent." As for those who would call themselves Socialists and Christians at the same time, they have "the sorriest sort of Socialism and its vilest perversion."

This antagonism to religion, however, does not call for a frontal attack on religion in non-Communist countries. Quite the contrary. We must remember that "the religious oppression of humanity is only a product of the economic oppression of society." Hence "the propagation of atheism must be subordinated to a more basic task, the development of the class struggle. . . . The class struggle will convert Christian workers to atheism a hundred times more efficiently than any bald atheistic sermon."

Anti-Religion.—After the victory of the class struggle in Russia, Lenin considered that the time had arrived for an intense drive against religion—not by positively repressing it, but by "toleration" of religious practices *plus* a truly colossal and diabolically efficient campaign of anti-religious propaganda. The taking of the "nation's property" from the churches, the execution and imprisonment of thousands of bishops and priests for counter-revolutionary activities or sympathies, the closing of churches by the hundred because of "inadequate congregations" were considered (sincerely I think) not to be "suppression." In one city that I visited (Samara) eleven of the fifteen churches were now clubs, theatres, etc. In Kazan, the capital of the Tartar Republic,

fifty-eight of the sixty churches and mosques had been closed down.

Toleration does exist. On entering my first church in Leningrad I was amazed at the stream of worshippers coming and going. They were, as my guide prophesied, not young people. Outside I saw a priest, unmistakable in his robes, pushing his way through the crowds towards his church. No one paid any special attention to him. He looked in good health and reasonably well clothed. I have already mentioned a baptism off the sacred Red Square in Moscow. The man, apparently the father, was a young man. In Kiev I saw two large churches packed to the doors, and the congregations were very well dressed and had a good sprinkling of youth.

Side by side with this " toleration " is a colossal flood of anti-religious propaganda—journals, such as the cleverly edited " Atheist," public debates, anti-religious museums, anti-religious drama, anti-religious mockery processions, posters, games, etc. The six-day week is a successful device for making it difficult to keep track of the Sabbath. Nobody that I met knew or cared what day of the week it was. Above all the study of physical science is encouraged in order to make it clear that " there is a physical explanation to all the phenomena of life."

At a pool in the Park of Culture in various towns one may go " fishing for priests and archbishops." The effect is subtle, because the ecclesiastical dignitaries are apparently of secondary importance compared with the excitement of manœuvering the long rods. At the shooting gallery one may choose one's target from between the Pope, Tommy Atkins, a beastly-looking silk-hatted capitalist, and a drunkard. And so on with an endless choice of anti-religious " diversion." Among the many dreadful spectacles in that loveliest of cathedrals, St. Isaac's in Leningrad, one may behold the naturally-preserved and wholly-naked body of the Greek archbishop, St. Theodosius Chernigovskogo, flanked by the

partially-clad bodies of two preserved Eskimoes. Amongst the numerous other exhibits in this cathedral was a big bottle of "genuine" tears of the Blessed Virgin. Their sale, the guide informed us, made a handsome income each year for the priests. A middle-aged lady in our group (who was incidentally a non-Communist tourist) was very interested, the reason being "They have the same thing in Glasgow." Blasphemy has perhaps reached its greatest height in a poster depiction of the Last Supper as a carouse.

With a certain half-truth in much of the anti-religious propaganda and the *complete* suppression of religious propaganda, the effect has been devastating among a people who, though devout in their practices, were quite untrained in apologetics. Religion has been blasted for the majority of the people, particularly the children. The priests and the congregations that are left, however, have been tried in the furnace. Such piety as I saw was the greatest and most impressive piety that I have ever seen. It will not be easy to "liquidate" the influence of these heroic souls by the "spread of the truths of science." They will survive.

Communist Morality.—Having destroyed one morality, Communism surely has another morality in its stead. Here is the best explanation of it I can give—as good, I think, as anyone can give. It is an abbreviation, in which nothing essential is omitted, of Lenin's speech to the Third All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League: "The whole work of training, educating and instructing the present day youth must be directed towards imbuing them with Communist Ethics. But is there such as thing a Communist Ethics? Is there such a thing as Communist Morality? Of course there is. It is frequently asserted that we have no ethics and very frequently the bourgeoisie say that we Communists deny all morality. In what sense do we deny ethics, morals? In the sense which they are preached by the bourgeoisie,

a sense which deduces these morals from God's Commandments. Of course we say that we do not believe in God. . . We deny all morality taken from super-human or non-class conceptions. We say that this is a deception, a swindle, a befogging of the minds of the workers in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. . . . We had to destroy these landlords and capitalists. . . . But to do this, organisation was necessary. God could not create such an organisation. Such organisation could only be created by the factories and the workshops, only by the trained proletariat. . . . A morality taken from outside human society does not exist for us. It is a fraud. We deduce our morality from the facts and needs of the class struggle of the proletariat " (whatever that may mean).

From all this blasphemous twaddle it may be difficult for the reader to picture Lenin as gentle, pure and lovable in private life, to regard him as a creative thinker, a great organiser and hypnotic leader. But such he was. The bulk of his capitalist critics are futile, because they test him on efficiency, *i.e.*, on purely materialist issues. As between Materialist Capitalism and Materialist Communism, Lenin may hold the trump cards.

But having achieved materialistic success (as Leninism well may), when Russian minds are freed from enthraldom of the present economic battle, what then ? There will certainly be an intellectual, a philosophical, that is, a fundamental crisis or at least disintegration. Whether institutional Christianity can survive until that time is the real problem. Hence the speedier the materialist success of Bolshevism, the better it may be for the survival of the Christian institutions.

Communist Ideology.—You will offend a true Communist by referring to " this great experiment." For him it is not an experiment but a clearly-planned, achievable, indeed inevitable development. Communism has " all the necessary and sufficient principles for building up the ultimate form of society." It is a deadly sincere

philosophy, not a propaganda device of ambitious demagogues. Like Cobdenism, it has a comfortable, simple, dogmatic finality (and it may flourish as long and with as great a following). In its infallibility the Communist Party can obviously tolerate only one organised political party. It must tolerate no philosophy other than its own. In defence of truth and suppression of falsehood it must exercise eternal vigilance, unswerving ruthlessness and unceasing propaganda. It must have a monopoly of education and publicity. The supreme law, the only morality, is the safety of the Communist *régime*.

It is an absolutist, totalitarian state (unlike the so-called Fascist totalitarian State, which leaves religion and certain intellectual realms outside its authority). That is, the Communist State claims to embrace man's entire being. In its philosophy only politics and economics have a right to exist. All else is superstition. Culture is technology and hygiene. Engineering, disease prevention, chemistry—such are the ingredients of culture. Art certainly, but not the superstition of art for art's sake. All art must be purposive. Music, poetry, painting, have their sole function in soothing, guiding and inspiring the toiler, thus helping him to conquer new fronts in the Five-Year Plans. Intellectualism must be destroyed or suborned.

The Communist Party is the advance guard, the brain of the proletariat. It requires the self-effacement of the individual for the Party, the renunciation of personal desires. It conducts frequent and thorough purges for alcoholic or sexual excesses, favouritism to relations, etc. It makes an intense emotional appeal to man's natural craving to give his activities a purpose more than personal. By the energy and devotion of its members it can control the key positions in the Government machine. In time it hopes to have devoted adherents in every position, even the humblest in the land. By which time the Party will have disappeared, assimilated in the nation.

During its thirty years history the Party has been consistent. It has tolerated no "deviation from the general line." There have been expedient, temporary concessions to private traders and private producers. Many have mistakenly interpreted these as the beginnings of "revisionism." In fact revisionism has been ruthlessly suppressed, even when coming from influential quarters.

Russia's Role.—As Russia has been the only country in which Communism has been established, Russia must be the arsenal of the world revolution. Not that this means military conquest. (Communism is essentially pacifist, if only false prophets would not forcibly block the path of truth). The point would be better expressed by saying that Russia is to be the midwife of the world social order which is bound to come to birth. She will help the toilers of other lands by training them in ideology and in the technique of revolution, by the example of her own economic success and by the loaning of planning experts in due course when the inevitable crash of Capitalism gives the toilers the opportunity of being regimented into comfort and happiness.

This briefly is the Party ideology. Its economic methodology in turn is simple in its fundamentals. It controls and plans the entire economic fabric of society, thereby abolishing forever unemployment and placing the products of the nation's labour in the hands of the workers.

Those who will be impressed.—This revolutionary ideology will appeal to many types: to the unstable minds that are attracted by any novelty and to the parasitic types who would welcome revolution as an opportunity to achieve importance or to justify moral license. These types would not matter but for a third significant type, the plain citizen who has been uprooted by Capitalism, the justifiably discontented victim of the present *régime*. For the latter (there are hordes of them

in Germany, Great Britain, America) the Bolshevik may easily appear to be dealing with the realities of social justice. These victims of Capitalism sense that it is the secret and unavowed policy of Capitalism also to regard technology and hygiene as the main end in life, but in this case to be used for the indulgence of the appetites of a minority. They see that no authority has a moral sanction over the public conscience in industry, trade and politics. To be sure Capitalism tolerates moral doctrines —so long as they are not dragged into the market place or the Combine Conference.

For the Bolshevist, and very often for the victim of Capitalism, this is utter illogicality and the suspicion arises, amounting to certainty for the Bolshevist, that religion is really an ally of the exploiting elements. (For the Christian, of course, materialist Capitalism is preferable, because private morality does have some cumulative effect on the public conscience and because, where that morality has sufficient adherents, there is always the possibility of organising it to have appreciable influence).

One can understand then the appeal of the Leninist who says : " We are not secret materialists and public hypocrites. We are frank and logical materialists. Further, we really mean ' service, not self.' We use the products of materialism, not for the luxury of the few, but for a division amongst the many. And the worker, no longer exploited, will give his best and the system will soon return to him a measure of stable comfort."

The Seriousness of the Threat.—With further crises in Capitalism (and what bold prophet can deny the possibility ?) and with further substantial economic progress in Russia, it is easy to imagine how strong this appeal may become. Perhaps the economic machinery in Communism will break down. I do not know. It is no use quoting from the Communist Press scandalous inefficiency in Communist factories. I know of equally scandalous inefficiency in Capitalist factories, not reported in

the Capitalist Press. Isolated incidents prove nothing. I repeat that the essential weakness of Communism is not economic, is not in its materialist efficiency. Despite Capitalist critics, let me insist that its inferiority to Capitalism in *total* industrial efficiency has not been proved, and the reverse is plausible. I give the Communist the benefit of the doubt (subject to serious reservations concerning the basic defectiveness of any *rêgime* of unadulterated materialism). To the equally futile but serious objections of certain devout people who say "People like that could have no luck; God would not allow it," I would reply: "Is prosperity reserved for the pious?"

It would be foolish then to insist that materialist Communism cannot prosper during the coming decades. In Russia up to the present and in spite of incredible difficulties, Communism has on the whole justified its economic programme. A comparatively well-to-do Communism would devastate present-day Capitalism. It is the height of folly to underrate the threat.

From these thoughts two points emerge. First, as this is at least partly a materialist life, all are interested in successful or partly successful economic technique. Consequently, an examination, however brief, of the economic methodology of Communism would be interesting. Secondly, in Ireland (which is definitely out of sympathy with both materialist Communism and materialist Capitalism in their basic attitude towards life) have we any definite code of social principles behind which we can fashion a definite methodology to meet the troubles of the coming decades?

The first point may be dealt with briefly here. The second is too big and too important to be treated as an incidental in an article.

Soviet Administrative Structure.—The Soviet Union has an enormous population, 170 millions, covering one-sixth of the globe. It consists of twenty Republics and

fifteen Administrative Districts. These are federated into seven groups, and finally into one group, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.). The central governing body is the Congress of Soviets, elected by the workers, something like our Dáil. It meets only once every two years. It passes resolutions of a general character. The Central Executive Committee meets three times a year to pass laws carrying out the spirit of the Congress resolutions. The continuous work of government is carried out by a smaller body, the Council of Commissars (equivalent to our Ministers). Each Commissar has far greater powers than an Irish Minister. In the various Republics and Districts there is a similar machine.

Self-Determination.—Communism has a definite and vigorous policy of self-determination for each ethnic group. The local language, music and other elements of culture are actively encouraged. It is also clearly recognised that to survive, each culture must have an economic basis. In other words, in planning the economic development of the Soviet Union as a whole, definite consideration must be given to the requirements of the different cultural groups. In such a system the merits of Free Trade are beyond controversy, since no Republic can exploit another because of its greater wealth or earlier start in industrial development. On the contrary, the more developed the area, the more help it must give to the under-developed area. (Free Trade can never again be discussed in the rest of the world until these principles are given practical recognition.) Each Republic comes under the authority of, and when necessary, receives assistance from the Union Government. There is however considerable decentralisation, so that each Republic is for practical purposes independent within the framework of Communism.

Planning.—One of the principal ideas which Capitalism is trying to borrow from Communism is that of Planning.

Gone forever is the idea of the classical economists that the operation of Supply and Demand will automatically and spontaneously cause a harmonious development throughout all the elements of world social economy. We are groping towards the idea that economic society should have a premeditated and controlled pattern. Of course the idea is not new. It governed the medieval world. The anarchy of *laisser-faire* is quite recent. But generally speaking, people who talk to-day about a " plan " do not know the difference between a plan and a " pious aspiration."

The First Five-Year Plan was originally greeted with derision and incredulity by the capitalist world. In the interval it has provided a concrete aim and a unifying slogan for the Soviet nations. Has it succeeded ? I am willing to believe that this relatively enormous task will be completed in this, the fourth year. But one cannot realise the achievement without appreciating the historical background. A group of the most backward peoples in the world, exhausted by the world war, by two revolutions, by external blockade from erstwhile allies, scourged by terrible famine and overrun by six armies, British, French, American, Polish, Czech and Russian Whites. And with the outside world hostile and aggressive, Russia could hope for no external financial aid. This dreadful background must always be clearly borne in mind when judging the present state of the country.

The fact that the headquarters alone of the Planning Commission has a staff of 30,000 will give some idea of the complexities of the planning machinery. The essence of the plan is that it must cover *all* of the economic life of the community, and that it must be teleological, *i.e.*, all production must be planned to cater for a definite ascertainable future demand. It must envisage in detail the general rate of growth of the whole national income and its distribution between capital goods and consump-

tion. The First Five Year Plan is not something complete and all-sufficing in itself. A Communist state must *always* be planned. Five-year periods have been chosen as being long enough for big tasks, while not sufficiently remote to be uninspiring. But the general national objective is planned much farther into the future than five years.

The procedure for drafting each plan is briefly as follows: The Communist Party and the Union Government set out their leading aims and social purposes for the period; the desirable increase of capital goods and the increase of consumables and the policy of prices and wages so as to decide the distribution of consumable goods amongst the various groups of the population. It does not give detailed figures for big factories or even for individual sectors of the national economy. The Union Planning Commission, with the help of the various Commissariats, then draws up limits and directions for the main branches. It has detailed reports of conditions in the national economy at the time *plus* reports of new capital about to come into production and new supplies of trained labour becoming available. The sections of the plan are then discussed in detail by planning groups throughout the Union and by various conferences and congresses, who elaborate the details of the plan.

The Counter-Plan.—Above all, the plan is discussed by the workers, who, with the help of their managements, produce the counter-plan, which tries to "go one better." This specific appeal to the workers brings much useful information concerning methods and costs of production, but above all it appeals to the pride of the worker. It appears to be *his* Plan.

Finally the plan sections go back through industrial, district and republican planning commissions, to be combined eventually in the All-Union Plan by the Union Planning Commission. The final draft is sent out, giving the complete details divided in time into yearly, quarterly,

monthly, six-day and even daily periods and into districts down sometimes even to the individual machines and workers.

Balancing.—In all this the outstanding, indeed vital, problem is that of the balances. The metal balance must co-ordinate stocks and output with the consumption of all the industrial and constructional organisations in the country. It must be adjusted, when necessary, by increased production, decreased consumption or increased imports. Each of these latter in turn involve other balances. Exports must balance imports. Prices (receipts) must balance cost of production *plus* planned profit. Income (wages) must balance the expenditure (prices, loan subscriptions, rent, etc.), of the population. The problem is intensely complex. It requires continuous adjustment and never of course reaches perfection. To the objection that it is certainly never even near perfection, the Communist reply always is: "Capitalism expects it all to happen spontaneously."

Fulfilment.—Fulfilment becomes a matter of honour and an object of competition between respective groups of workers. There is an extraordinarily intense propaganda and continuous self-criticism. The outstanding device for getting driving force into the industrial effort is the "shock brigades." These are workers who volunteer to give an example of devoted efficiency to their fellow workers. They enjoy many privileges and are very proud of themselves. Running ahead of the Plan will upset balances, but on account of its psychological value it is actively encouraged, and speeding-up adjustments are made with related sections of the Plan. One such device is "taking in tow," the triumphant workers and technicians helping the slower plants and departments.

Difficult "Fronts."—The Soviet methods of planning and fulfilment are possible only in large scale, mass-production industry where workers can be regimented. Hence the whole Soviet drive is towards organising its

economy on mass-production lines. This is achievable in the greater sphere of industry. Transport, mining and steel have not come up to expectations, but on the whole I feel that there is no point gained by questioning socialist efficiency in the sphere of large scale industry. There are, however, many awkward " fronts." The small craftsmen (the boot-repairer, the tailor, etc.) cannot easily be mass-productionised. The efforts to put them on a truly socialist wage basis have not yet succeeded. The agricultural " front," however, is the biggest and most difficult. Here the official policy has been towards a systematic reconstruction of the small-farm *régime* on a basis of large-scale production, mechanisation and specialisation. More than 80 per cent. of the 25,000,000 farms have now been collectivised, but things have not gone as well as they might. It is difficult to transform 160 million peasants into an agricultural-factory proletariat. It has, for instance, involved the complete " liquidation " of the *Kulaki* (farmers who owned their land and could employ a labourer). It is not easy for the stranger to report how far the mentality of the peasant has been socialised, and it is true that the " reformers " did not expect to effect the change quickly. Their explanation is the technical, economic and cultural backwardness of the rural population. Whether the rugged agriculturalist really leads a less full life than his slicker factory brother with his cinema, Park of Culture, trams and all the rest of it is at least debatable. Bernard Shaw says in a recent article : " The peasant bows low to you. . . . seizes your hand and buries it in his big beard while he kisses it and overwhelms you with expressions of endearment. You may think him a more lovable person than the clean-shaven agricultural mechanic of the collective farm, but that the Soviet, in liquidating him and burning his kennel as soon as possible, is acting in the interests of civilisation, is obvious at the first glance." Whether the hard, cheerless, amoral efficiency

of the bee-hive or the ant-heap is achievable among those who are rooted in the soil is a question on which I would not share Shaw's optimism. Still less could I share his enthusiasm as to its desirability.

The Secret of Russia's Strength.—Russia is exercising a big influence in the world, and I have no doubt that the influence will increase. Russia's secret is that its leaders realise that no system can succeed without the confidence and willing co-operation of the masses. To those on the scrap-heap of Capitalism they offer a definite and easily understood alternative. They make an appeal to man's nobleness (which is splendid) on a basis of atheistic regimentation (which is fatal).

Stalin has referred to "the radical change in man's attitude to labour, since it transforms labour from a shameful and a heavy burden into a matter of honour, a matter of valour, of heroism and glory." The sentiment has been made practical for at least millions of Russians. The masses are flattered by unceasing propaganda that their co-operation is essential. They are made feel that not merely are they producing for themselves, but that they are the organisers of production. They are made feel *co-owners*. In such an atmosphere competitions between factories are as easily arranged as between military battalions.

After sailing more than 1,000 miles down the Volga, I remarked to our guide that two women attendants seemed to be overworked—which was certainly no exaggeration. She replied that if I would like to put my opinion on paper, it would be exceedingly flattering to the women. I wrote down: "We think that the two women attendants in our saloon work very hard," and our table signed it. The effect was obvious during the rest of the voyage. The women were self-consciously proud. The document would no doubt be mentioned with approval at the next meeting of the crew and perhaps elsewhere. Imagine trying to satisfy a steward in a capitalist ship in such fashion! (We paid tips nowhere.)

Every works has a local branch of the Trade Union and of the Party. They may not actively interfere in the administration, but the management is bound to give them any information they may require and is bound to pay attention to suggestions or complaints from them or individuals. Neglect to do so will involve appeal to a higher authority, which in turn must protect the management from mere badgering. In the factories the names of the best workers are chalked on the Red Board and of the worst on the Black Board. Workers are paid at the Red Office—except the dodgers, who are paid last and at the Black Office. The unworthy are punished by various similar methods of "social isolation." A Comrades' Court, composed of the accused's fellow-workers, may administer a comradely warning (private) or a public reprimand with or without publication in the wall newspaper or public Press. It may even remove him to a lower paid job, suspend him temporarily from his Trade Union or kick him out of the works altogether. (So may the management for sufficient reason.)

A further important point is that the factories are most intimately linked with the schools and libraries. The worker is given every facility to rise from blind alleys and from permanent unskilled labour. He is actively encouraged to acquire education and technical skill and to develop his inventive genius. Needless to say one factory could not keep secret from another factory any new inventions or improvements in technique.

What about it All?—What in brief are the final judgments on Communism? It is clearly and unquestionably based on a philosophy of atheism. *Nor is this basis incidental.* Lenin was perfectly logical in scoffing at those who would say: "Can we not do all this without the Anti-God issue?" He was right when he said that Socialism is inconceivable without atheism—and, he should have added, "the loss of man's liberty."

No doubt, when we examine the tremendous, all-

permeating propaganda of materialist capitalism (as few of us pause to do), it may appear to be really slicker, smoother, more insidious, more disintegrating, in its anti-God materialist preaching and just as effective in depriving the citizen of real freedom of thought. But Capitalism at least tolerates the existence of Christian literary apologetics and religious training, which Communism absolutely forbids. As a menace to non-materialist ideals Communism is active where Capitalism is merely passive. And as I have said before, it has shown diabolical efficiency.

To decry Bolshevik efficiency in the materialist sphere —in the factories, railroads, etc.—is merely capitalist wish being father to the thought. The world of the hunger-marchers and the silent factories is at the least absurd in trying to insist that Communism has an inferior industrial structure. For a Catholic community to insist, on the basis of prejudiced evidence, that Communist industrialism must crash is little short of criminal folly.

Communism is a powerful and immediate menace. It is a cause driven by blazing zeal and energy and by clear-headed logic—none of which materialist capitalism can claim. If we have sense, we will recognise that in the near future Bolshevism *may* win great victories in Europe. It is not enough to meet the threat by negation, suppression or denunciation, by platitudinous references to an unread *Quadragesimo Anno* or by pious approval of movements that do not move.

Here is a typical Communist speech : " With scientific discovery much of man's labour should obviously be taken over by mechanised mass-production. Such machinery should be the servant, not the enemy, of the worker. Terrific wastes occur in industry through strikes and still more so through the consistently apathetic service of labour. This cannot be overcome as long as workers in large-scale industry are mere wage-slaves, not possessing a sense of co-ownership and stability of service. To

consider the housing of the masses as a mere incidental of commerce is a scandal. The contrast between the luxurious few and the poverty-stricken many is a social irritant which reacts against society's well-being. Further, apart from the waste consequent on non-co-operation of the wage-earners, the "spontaneous" planning of Capitalism leads to irrational distribution of economic effort and to unbalanced production with inevitable 'crises.' A premeditated pattern and a controlled development is necessary to society. Further, a planned society must also control and plan its trading and financial relations with unplanned societies. Capitalism cannot solve these problems. Communism can."

I would reply: "A clever speech. But it omits the fundamentals. It provides us with no code of social principles. If we took first things first, the solution of these problems should be obvious. And then we would not have Communism nor any imitation of even parts of Communism." The cold fact, however, is that my reply, particularly the last sentence, does not carry conviction in the numerous spheres where my own active experience carries me. I know at first hand that there is a considerable body of disguised Communism or, if we want to play with words, non-anti-God State Absolutism, in Ireland. And I am not making vague references to any particular organisations. We have not a sufficiently widespread knowledge that there is a definite and detailed code of Catholic social principles and a clearly defined Christian social structure. A positive statement on that issue, however, would require something considerably more than the final paragraph in an article. My main conclusion will be, writing as a sensible, experienced, non-alarmist observer, that there is urgent necessity for the propaganda and implementation of these Christian social principles. In their absence the Communist has fertile soil to till.

JOHN BUSTEED

THE CENTENARY OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

BY RICHARD J. PURCELL, PH.D.
Professor of History in the Catholic University of America

A CENTURY ago (November 14, 1832) there died, on his Maryland manor, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, an eminent American patriot and founder, the last surviving Signer of the Declaration of Independence, a respected statesman, a philanthropist, an enormously wealthy landholder and businessman, a promoter of the first American railroad, a scholarly gentleman, and a devout son of the Catholic Church. Carroll lived a long and complete life. He spanned a revolutionary era in America: disunited colonies forced into union by the selfish policy of the mother country, a successful revolution, the creation of a republican federation of states into a powerful nation, the successful testing of the constitutional experiment, and a tremendous increase in the population and wealth of the country. He witnessed a handful of proscribed Catholics grow into an organised church of 350,000 members. A philosopher, he observed the uncertainties of time: the rise and fall of great men, the rise of new nations, the fall of empires, and the dawn of an era of greater toleration and of representative government. Much that he had struggled for had been won in America.

The first American Carroll was Charles Carroll (1660-1720) of the ancient O'Carrolls of Ely,[1] a scholar of Douai and of the Inner Temple, a secretary of William Herbert, Lord Powis, a minister of James II, who won for him the favour of the third Lord Baltimore and

[1] For a pedigree showing the descent of Charles Carroll from Florence O'Carroll, King of Ely (d. 1205), see *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 1883, No. 56.

advised him to sail for Maryland in view of the problematical situation in the British Isles. For a Jacobite, he left none too soon, but the Revolution of 1688 followed him to America. He lost his position as Attorney General for the proprietor and suffered a brief imprisonment at the hands of the royal governor, Sir Lionel Copley, for discourses against the government and for loyalty to Baltimore who had been stripped of his colony although allowed to retain his vast demesne lands. Carroll did not fare badly as Baltimore's agent, naval officer, and register of the land office. He accumulated two lots in Annapolis, the new capital, and some 60,000 acres of land, and collected a goodly dower when he married a daughter of the previous Register of the Land Office, Colonel Henry Darnall, and a kinswoman of the Calverts. Of his eleven children, the eldest son, a graduate of St. Omer's College in Flanders, died while a student at Grey's Inn, Charles Carroll II became his heir, Daniel Carroll was the progenitor of the Carrolls of Dudington, and his surviving daughters intermarried with the Maryland manorial families.

In the meantime, the fourth Lord Baltimore like the later Penns found it profitable to conform to the Church of England and have his Maryland palatinate restored to him (1715). The penal laws were put into force ; the old days of Maryland toleration had passed. Catholics were proscribed. At times persecution was sharp after the Jacobite Risings and during the colonial wars with the neighbouring French and Indians. Yet in secrecy or with the connivance of local enforcement officers, the greater planters and the Jesuit manors managed to retain chapels. In time the Jesuits actually had a preparatory college on Bohemia Manor, where the sons of gentlemen and prospective members of the Society were given their early training for later studies in the refugee British schools on the Continent. Both Charles Carroll II (1702-1782) and his brother Daniel were educated at St. Omer's,

but did not proceed to the Inns of Court because of the death of their father and the urgent demands of their estates.

Charles Carroll succeeded to the paternal lands and the headship of the family. To identify him in the increasing clan of Carrolls, all related more or less closely through blood or on the female side through inter-marriage, he became known as Charles Carroll of Annapolis, while his equally distinguished kinsman, the son of Charles Carroll, Physician (1691-1755), who conformed to the Anglican Church, was described as Charles Carroll, Barrister (d. 1783). Charles Carroll II, disfranchised and debarred from public office for which he was well equipped, managed his great plantations with skill, sold his share of sixty acres at £2 per acre to the incorporators of the City of Baltimore (1729), shared with others the responsibility of the Patapsco Iron Works which became one of the largest colonial foundries with 30,000 acres of land and 150 enslaved black labourers, and lived the life of an aristocratic gentleman and a scholar. By his wife Elizabeth Brooke of the family from which Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (1777-1864) was descended, he had as his heir Charles Carroll III, who was later identified as Carroll of Carrollton from one of his 10,000 acre plantations on the Potomac River.

Charles Carroll III was born at Annapolis, September 19, 1737, reared in the great mansion on the 10,000 acre manor of Doughoregan, and, though a delicate child, was schooled by the Jesuits of Bohemia Manor. At the age of eleven years, he was sent along with his cousin (on the maternal side) Jackie Carroll (later the first bishop in the United States) to the Collège de St. Omer, where there were other Maryland boys as well as an older cousin, Anthony Carroll of Ireland, later a Jesuit. His loneliness was assuaged by letters from his father, which were replete with good advice, a Catholic philosophy of education, and narratives of the happenings at home. From St.

Omer he went to a college in Rheims, to the Collège de Louis le Grand in Paris, and to Bourges for a four-year course in civil law.

In 1758 he commenced a long sojourn in London, where he read law at the Temple but with no thought of professional practice; for as an orthodox Catholic he would have been unable to subscribe to the required test oaths. While in London, he associated with colonials who were reading for the bar, with the Baltimore family, and with the habitués of the Crown and Anchor Coffee Room. He attended debates in Parliament and familiarised himself with the English Constitution. His father, who had visited him on a couple of occasions, expressed pleasure that he dressed well and lived plainly in a society given to lace-coats, powdered wigs, and gold ornaments. He also expressed a thought of leaving Maryland and its intolerance, which was especially vile during the French and Indian War (1754-63), and settling in the Arkansas River region of French Louisiana. Only his age stood in the way. He was embittered at the refusal of colonial authorities to permit him as a Catholic to support fourteen of the starving Acadians, thousands of whom had been wrenched from their farms in Acadia and distributed throughout the colonies, so that they would lose their nationality and their faith. The question of removal to foreign soil he left to his son, agreeing to retain his lands and negroes until a decision might be made. In view of the possible marriage of Charles to Julia, daughter of Joseph Baker of Ryegate who seems to have feared that the Carrolls were lacking in wealth, Carroll Senior forwarded an estimate of his holdings at £80,000 with a clear revenue of £1,800 a year and the services of 285 slaves, and he stated that he would settle immediately on his heir the Carrollton estate with its equipment and slaves and a share in the Iron Works productive of £400 a year.

Nothing came of the romance, and Charles Carroll

of Carrollton returned to Annapolis (Feb. 14, 1765). Religious conditions in Maryland had slightly improved with the removal of the French and Spanish menace; but, though disfranchised, Carroll decided to remain, in the hope that better days would come. Dissatisfaction was general because of the Stamp Act and the high-handed rule of the lord proprietor's governor, who was abetted by a narrow bureaucracy headed by Daniel Dulany, an enemy of the Carrolls and the son of an interesting Protestant Irishman who came as an indentured servant and rose to leadership in the colony. Carroll, with little antagonism to the Crown, became a Whig in sympathy with such rebels as Thomas Johnson, William Paca, and Samuel Chase. An able business executive who knew the law, book-keeping, and surveying, he assisted his father in the management of their properties. And in 1768 he married his cousin, Mary Darnall (d. 1782), and occupied Doughoregan Manor rather than Carrollton from which he took his designation.

In 1771, as a result of conflict with the elective Assembly over fees to officers and tithes to the established Anglican ministry, the governor, Sir Robert Eden, prorogued the session and ordered that the unvoted taxes be levied at the old rate, which was popularly regarded as excessive. A deadlock was reached. Daniel Dulany, it soon became known, was the author of articles in the *Maryland Gazette* (January-July, 1773) in which a self-styled "First Citizen," upholding the popular side of the various controversies between the governor and the legislature, was properly worsted by a loyal king's man, "Second Citizen." A new hand took the place of the discomfited straw-man, the "First Citizen," and proved a worthy spokesman for the patriots, all the more as he was temperate in statement to the point of conservatism and obviously versed in law, colonial customs, and English practices. Soon the actual "First Citizen" was identified as Carroll, who was brought into a prominence increased

by Dulany's vindictive references to his penal disabilities. This attempt to stir up anti-Catholic prejudices he prudently answered with *meminimus et ignoscimus*. In connection with the parliamentary tax on tea, Annapolis as well as Boston had its tea-party. Anthony Stewart, the importer of the tea, who incidentally had signed the pledge not to import or use English goods until colonial grievances were corrected, burned his own ship, *Peggy Stewart*, on the advice of Carroll rather than face the mob of infuriated neighbours. Events were following rapidly, although Maryland was slower than most colonies in her progress toward civil war or rebellion.

In 1774 Catholic disabilities were removed and Maryland again could boast of religious toleration for Christians, but unhappily not for non-Christians until 1826. Carroll was at last a citizen, and would have been the "first citizen" if religious bigotry did not long survive legal toleration. A warm patriot but no shouting demagogue, Carroll often in association with his kinsmen Daniel Carroll and Charles Carroll, Barrister, served in various capacities in the Revolutionary government, on the local Committees of Correspondence and of Safety, on the Provincial Committee of Correspondence, and in the Maryland Convention, where he supported the non-importation agreement, assisted in formulating provincial petitions and protests, and in preparing for armed defence. In the last capacity his knowledge of the iron business was an asset and, incidentally, the Patapsco Iron Works turned out good military supplies.

Carroll was called into national service when the Continental Congress, after the invasion of Canada under Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery (a Donegal man) had failed, sought to win Canadian allegiance to the Revolution or at least French-Canadian neutrality through a diplomatic mission (February, 1776). The aged Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase of Maryland, and Charles Carroll were selected, and Father John Carroll,

S.J., was asked to go as a secretary and aide.[1] The Carrolls were appointed for obvious reasons—as Catholics to appeal to Catholic Quebec and to demonstrate that our Revolution was a national not a Puritan uprising and as aristocratic gentlemen who were bilingual in speech and who understood the French mind from long residence and education in France. In writing of the mission (Feb. 18, 1776) John Adams, who had a curious Yankee adoration of aristocrats and of money, noted: "The characters of the two first you know. The last is not a member of Congress, but a gentleman of independent fortune, perhaps the largest in America—a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand pounds sterling; educated in some University in France, though a native of America; of great abilities and learning, complete master of the French language, and a professor of the Roman Catholic religion, yet a warm, a firm, a zealous supporter of the rights of America, in whose cause he has hazarded his all."[2]

The journey to Quebec was one of desperate hardships, especially for the aged Franklin and the delicate and diminutive Carroll, with nights in the open air sleeping in a blanket, with tramping, rowing canoes, and riding the trail on horseback. And it was to no avail, unless it contributed to Canadian neutrality or rather apathy, for the Church and the habitants were quite satisfied with the liberal privileges granted by the Quebec Act and had no reason to be disloyal to the British Crown; while they had every cause to distrust the rebel colonies and more especially New England: the long series of colonial wars, the hostilities of rival fur interests, the fight for the control of the Ohio region, the treatment of the Acadians, and the wild Puritan outburst against the Quebec Act as an intolerable measure. All is fair in war

[1] See article on "John Carroll" in *Dictionary of American Biography*, by R. J. Purcell.

[2] Quoted in Horace E. Hayden's *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, (1894) p. 6.

and in diplomacy, and Charles Carroll performed an important service for his country.

During the absence of Carroll and Chase, the moderate party in control of the Maryland convention passed (May 8) a resolution in favour of peaceful continuance within the British Empire. On the return of Carroll and Chase the convention reversed this resolution and passed one more in conformity with the proceedings of other states which enabled its delegates in the Continental Congress to stand for Independence (June 28, 1776). For this changed attitude Carroll has been given rather full credit. He was named a delegate to Congress (July 4, 1776) and arrived in time to vote for the engrossment of the Declaration of Independence (July 19), which he signed on August 2, 1776.

In connection with his signature of Charles Carroll of Carrollton—his legal signature since 1765—the legend grew that when he was taxed by a fellow-signer with bearing little responsibility, as the king's agents would be unable to identify him among the many Carrolls (there still were two other outstanding kinsmen of the same name, Charles Carroll, Barrister, and Charles Carroll of Elk Ridge), Carroll with a flourish is said to have added "of Carrollton." After signing the document and while conversing with John Hancock, another member is said to have remarked: "There go a few millions." At all events, no one in the rebel ranks with the possible exception of Washington had greater material holdings than Carroll. No man had greater intellectual courage nor stamina of character. And it required courage and loyalty to principle for men to withstand the persecution which the small Catholic minority was forced to bear in colonial Maryland. A quiet and subdued man, Carroll had the qualities of a martyr who would die for a principle. Many years later (1827), in a letter to a Protestant divine upon the subject of religious liberty, he declared: "Your sentiments on religious liberty coincide entirely with

mine. To obtain religious, as well as civil liberty, I entered zealously into the Revolution, and observing the Christian religion divided into many sects, I founded the hope that no one would be so predominant as to become the religion of the State. That hope was thus early entertained, because all of them joined in the same cause, with few exceptions of individuals. God grant that this religious liberty may be preserved in these States to the end of time, and that all believing in the religion of Christ may practise the leading principle of charity, the basis of every virtue."[1]

While a member of Congress, Carroll also served in the Maryland Convention, in which he was actively connected with drafting the state constitution as one of a select committee of seven members. He was accredited with the undemocratic scheme of the indirect election of state senators. He opposed the confiscation of loyalist property, out of which a good many patriots in the several colonies made small fortunes, as "patriots" in various countries have profited from the seizure and sale of confiscated Church properties. His father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, was named a councillor under Governor Johnson, but declined on account of his advanced age. In the Continental Congress he served, among other committees, on the powerful Board of War along with men like John Adams, later president, and Benjamin Harrison, whose descendants included two presidents of the United States. According to Adams, he proved "an excellent member whose education, manners, and application to business and to study did honour to his fortune, the first in America." In this capacity he investigated conditions at Valley Forge, and he stood as one of General Washington's strongest defenders against the movement, known as the Conway Cabal, to replace the commander-in-chief with Horatio Gates who had won temporary and exaggerated fame as the hero of Saratoga

[1] Quoted in J. T. Scharf's *History of Maryland*, II, (1879), p. 136.

and General Burgoyne's surrender. He maintained a voluminous correspondence with a number of leaders, including Franklin at Paris, to whom he wrote (Aug. 12, 1777): "If this war should be of any considerable duration, we shall want men to recruit our armies; could we engage five or six thousand men—German, Swiss, or the Irish Brigade? I have mentioned this matter to several members of Congress, but they did not seem to relish the introduction of foreign mercenaries."[1] How much connection Carroll had with the movement which resulted in the Franco-American Alliance of 1778 is not known.[2] Yet one may be certain that Franklin was a sufficiently shrewd politician to make all that he could of Catholic participation in the Rebellion when advocating the American cause at the Court of Louis XVI. At any rate, in 1778 Carroll resigned from Congress to take a seat in the state senate of Maryland, over which he presided in 1783.

In the Critical Period, when the American experiment seemed doomed under the weak government of the Articles of Confederation, Carroll became a conservative Federalist. He recognised the dangers of the day: economic depression, no specie currency, no national bank, controversies between states, a depleted treasury, inability to pay the interest on the war debt, dissatisfied debtors, riotous disorders, unpaid veterans, dislocation of foreign trade, and a dissatisfied populace who hoped for more than the Revolution had brought them. The old ruling classes in the various colonies were still in the saddle. Like all men of property and conservative training, Carroll favoured the establishment of a strong national government which could command European respect, encourage foreign trade, obtain commercial

[1] Quoted in K. M. Rowland's *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, I, (1898), 209.

[2] H. S. Spalding, S.J., in *Catholic Colonial Maryland* (1931), p. 181, states this rather strongly: "We do not hesitate to ascribe to Charles Carroll of Carrollton the singular honour of enlisting the French nation with us in the Revolution."

treaties, foster domestic commerce, maintain order, and guarantee security to person and property. As a Federalist he stood with the great American leaders, but he was forced to part company with many old associates and Revolutionary patriots like Chase, Mercer, Martin, Stone, and Johnson. For some reason or other he refused an appointment to the Convention in Philadelphia which framed the Constitution, but his relative Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek (a brother of Bishop Carroll) represented the family in that distinguished gathering. However, he aided in the Maryland campaign for the ratification of the Constitution by the state convention. And he rejoiced in the selection of Washington as first President, not only as the *pater patriae* but as his friend of long standing. Along with Bishop Carroll, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimons of Philadelphia, and Dominic Lynch, a merchant of New York, he signed an address on behalf of the Catholic body felicitating the President as did representatives of other denominations. To this Washington replied in his usual spirit of toleration, obviously taking the occasion to counsel toleration on the part of Americans of various creeds.[1]

Carroll along with John Henry was elected by the legislature to represent Maryland in the Senate of the United States (1789). Carroll drew by lot the short term of two years, but was then re-elected for the regular term of six years. In the Senate he was conservative but not reactionary, and he was both independent and active in debates and on committees. Unlike John Adams and men with little background, Carroll opposed titles. He supported tariff duties. He favoured Alexander Hamilton's whole financial policy, including assumption of state debts by the national government. And he was quite pleased with the selection of a southern site for the capitol. It must be added that none of his lands were included in the site of ten miles square on the

[1] See R. J. Purcell, *American Nation*, 269.

Potomac, although his kinsmen the Carrolls of Dudington and Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek had lands within or near the area. It was this Daniel who was named by Washington as one of the commissioners to lay out the Capital City in this so-called District of Columbia.

As the Constitution was ratified by some of the States with the understanding that amendments in the nature of a Bill of Rights were to be added, Congress took up the amendments for consideration and passage before referring them to the States for ratification. In connection with the First Amendment, which dealt with religious freedom, Carroll spoke clearly according to the *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress:* "As the rights of conscience are, in their nature, of peculiar delicacy and will little bear the gentlest touch of the governmental hand and as many sects have concurred in opinion that they are not well secured under the present constitution, he said he was much in favour of adopting the words. He thought it would tend more towards conciliating the minds of the people to the Government than almost any other amendment he had heard proposed. He would not contend with gentlemen about the phraseology, his object was to secure the substance in such a manner as to satisfy the wishes of the honest part of the community."[1]

When in 1792 a state law provided that no citizen could serve in both the state and federal legislatures, Carroll resigned his seat in the national Senate and retained his chair in the state Senate—something that would be unheard of in later days, but then state honours, patriotism, and loyalty counted for more with many men than a national political position. He continued in the Senate until the Jeffersonian Republican Revolution of 1800, when like many good Federalists he retired to give full time to his business activities. Like Federalists in general but with less rancour, he disliked

[1] Thomas H. Benton's edition, I, p. 137.

democracy, which had become associated with the French Revolution, and feared Jefferson even more than Aaron Burr, whom he regarded as no less of a hypocrite but more steady and of boundless energy. To the Federalist leader, Hamilton, he wrote: "Of such a choice the consequences to this country may be dreadful. Mr. Jefferson is too theoretical and fanciful a statesman to direct with steadiness and prudence the affairs of this extensive and growing confederacy. He might safely try his experiments without much inconvenience in the little republic of St. Marino, but his fantastic tricks would dissolve this Union."[1]

Jefferson presided over the destinies of the Republic for eight years, and the country as well as Carroll's fortune waxed fat. Curiously enough the old Irish Catholic group was Federalist in politics with Aedanus Burke of South Carolina an interesting exception, while the Irish immigrants who came after 1800 were Jeffersonian-Jacksonian Democrats almost to a man. Like a good Federalist, Carroll opposed the War of 1812, maintaining that England was fighting for liberty and oppressed peoples against Napoleon. When a Democratic mob sacked the office of the *Federal Republican*, the aged man in a moment of irritation at the new revolution going on around him talked of leaving the country, and his private letters rang with disloyal hostility to Mr. Madison and his war. In case of British success at New Orleans, he would not object to the secession of the Western States to form a new union or nation. But the old Federalist became a nationalist after that Second War of Independence. Although he favoured William Crawford for the presidency in 1824; yet strangely enough, when it became a choice between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, he preferred the latter as did his Catholic friend, Roger B. Taney, who was soon to turn Democrat.

However, the Federalist party did little for Carroll.

[1] Rowland, *op. cit.* II, 235.

Of course a Catholic president would have been inconceivable—and for that matter a cabinet officer or a representative abroad. A seat in the Senate was all that he could have expected to attain. His public employments consisted of service on a commission to settle the Maryland-Virginia boundary line (1799). He declined appointment by Washington as a commissioner to draft a peace treaty with the Western Indians on the grounds of ill health (1793).

While Carroll may have been somewhat affected by the infidelity of Paris and London in his youth or more likely by Gallican tendencies, and while he naturally became more religious minded in his old age, there is no reason to suspect that he was not always a Catholic. He was not militant as were Irish immigrants, nor was Bishop Carroll in the sense of Bishops England and Hughes. Yet Carroll accepted persecution and claimed no martyrdom. Although a nominal Mason for a time at least, he was known, even heralded, as a Roman Catholic by all his Protestant associates. He sent not only his son to a foreign Catholic college, but—most unusual in America—placed his daughter, Kitty, in a convent in Liège. He had Dr. Perigny of the Sorbonne, an émigré, as his chaplain and also had him named as librarian of the first public library in Baltimore of which he was a patron. And this scholar was not the only royalist whom he befriended. With Bishop Carroll he pleaded with Washington on behalf of Catholic missionary activities among the Indians. In one of Archbishop Carroll's last letters (Mar. 31, 1815) he insisted that Annapolis be visited regularly by a priest—" especially since M. Carroll Senr. has resumed all the pious practices of religion [and] frequentation of the Sacraments."[1] In 1810 he wrote to his son's wife that he was gratified that his granddaughters were to be brought up as Catholics: " It is my wish and their father's also that they should be;

[1] Quoted in Peter Guilday's *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (1922) 5.

unfortunately tho' at present he has little religion himself, he is quite in earnest that his daughters should be religious."[1] The nativist anti-Catholic movement of the 1820s and the struggle for Catholic Emancipation in the British Isles probably intensified his zeal. No generous contributor in accord with his means, Carroll practically built St. Mary's Church in Annapolis, contributed to the erection of the Baltimore Cathedral, lead the contributors to found Georgetown College, and aided the Sulpicians in establishing Saint Charles College (1831), of which he laid the corner-stone. In deeding the site, a part of Doughoregan Manor, he asked for a monthly Mass for himself and family and wrote: "That this gift may be useful to religion and aid our church in rearing those who will guide us in the way of truth is the fervent prayer of your sincere friend." Toward the end, as he glanced meditatively over his happy career, he declared: "I have lived to my ninety-sixth year; I have enjoyed continued health, I have been blessed with great wealth, prosperity, and most of the good things which the world can bestow—public approbation, esteem, applause; but what I now look back on with the greatest satisfaction to myself is, that I have practised the duties of my religion."[2]

Of seven children born to the Carrolls, four died young. His heir Charles Carroll IV (1775-1825) was educated abroad, married Harriet the daughter of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew of Pennsylvania, and settled on his manor of Homewood, a suburb of Baltimore and now the site of Johns Hopkins University. His noteworthy descendant was a grandson, John Lee Carroll (1830-1911), who as a descendant of the Lees and the Carrolls won election to the governorship of Maryland (1875) despite an outcry against his Catholic faith.[3] A daughter, Mary,

[1] M. I. J. Griffin (ed.) *Catholic Historical Researches*, 17, 148.
[2] Quoted from Rev. Constantine Pise, *Eulogy on Charles Carroll* (1832).
[3] Sketch in *Dictionary of American Biography* 3, 528.

married (to her father's temporary disappointment) an English emigrant, Richard Caton, who lived on his wife's estate (now Catonsville) and became a rich merchant. Known as the "American Graces" at the English court, three of their daughters married into the English nobility: Mrs. Mary Carroll Paterson (a sister-in-law of Jerome Bonaparte's American wife) to the Marquis of Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington and sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Louise, first to Sir Fulton Bathurst Hervey and later to Francis Godolphin D'Arcy, who succeeded to the dukedom of Leeds; and Elizabeth to Baron Stafford of Costessy Hall. A fourth daughter, presented with the Folly Hall estate by her grandsire, married a shrewd Scot, John Lovat Mactavish. Relative to the Marchioness of Wellesley, Bishop England gave a clever toast at a celebration of the Fourth of July, 1827, in Charleston: "Charles Carroll of Carrollton: in the land from which his grandfather fled in terror, his granddaughter now reigns a queen"; and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy had the same lady in mind when he wrote in his *Bird's-eye View of the History of Ireland:* "It was considered a fact of happy import when the Duke of Wellington's brother became Lord Lieutenant and brought over to Dublin a wife who went openly to Mass—to the horror of all loyal persons." Catherine Carroll married a Virginian, Robert Goodloe Harper (1765-1825), who served in Congress from South Carolina and later became an eminent lawyer and an United States Senator from Maryland.

Honours he certainly had, and his palatial home became a Mecca for local society, American travellers, and foreign visitors as Lafayette. An account of the old Signer was frequently included in books on America by European travellers. Congress granted him the franking privilege. He was given a medal on the completion of the Erie Canal. He signed numerous facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence, especially on the

fiftieth anniversary when American patriotism was running at fever heat. The Young Men's National Republican Convention—the first of those curious American gatherings held thereafter every four years—sent a delegation to see him at his fireside (1832). He was becoming an institution and he thoroughly enjoyed his unique position: "A worthy associate of those men whose names are engraven upon a bolder monument than the pyramids of Egypt." Daniel Webster, the outstanding American orator, in delivering an eulogy over Adams and Jefferson in Fanueil Hall, Boston, summed up the national feeling: "Of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence there now remains only Charles Carroll. He seems an aged oak, standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer after all its contemporaries have been levelled with the dust . . . Sole survivor of an assembly of as great men as the world has witnessed, in a transaction one of the most important that history records, what thoughts, what interesting reflections, must fill his elevated and devout soul! . . . Fortunate, distinguished patriot! Interesting relic of the past! Let him know that, while we honour the dead, we do not forget the living; and that there is not a heart here which does not fervently pray that Heaven may keep him yet back from the society of his companions."[1]

With the assistance of his family, Carroll cared for his properties to the end and, despite a heavy correspondence, got along without an amanuensis until a year or two before his death. A stockholder in the old Potomac Company of which Washington was president, he always was deeply interested in internal improvements which would join the tidewater to the great West. Therefore he was a promoter of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and later of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, whose charter was written by an Irish Presbyterian lawyer and historian, John V. McMahon. On July 4, 1828, Carroll

[1] Joseph Taggart, *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Patriots* (1907) 117

laid the foundation stone of the first American railroad and attracted universal attention as the last survivor of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams having both died on that day two years earlier. Rightly he was said to have bridged the old colonial era and the beginning of the new industrial age.

Finally death came, November 14, 1832—and Charles Carroll of Carrollton was prepared—John J. Chanche, rector of St. Mary's Seminary and later bishop of Natchez, administering the last rites of the Church. Congress put on mourning for three months, a tribute paid previously only to Washington.[1] The Protestant Bishop of Philadelphia, William White, in offering a prayer at a civic memorial meeting urged: "May his name be an incentive to worthy conduct, with all who shall come after him in our public councils. May posterity, while they shall inherit the lustre of his virtues, enjoy the benefit of his labours."[2] With elaborate ceremonies, a bronze figure of Carroll in the act of stepping up to sign the Declaration of Independence was placed in Statuary Hall in the National Capitol as Maryland's tribute to a great citizen and an irreproachable statesmen (1903).[3]

RICHARD J. PURCELL

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[1] *Niles' Register*, 43, 299.

[2] John Sergeant, *Eulogy on Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, delivered at the request of the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1832 (18, 33).

[3] Aside from the materials mentioned in the footnotes the following bibliography on Carroll are valuable: John McCaffrey, *Eulogy on Charles Carroll* (1832); James McSherry, *History of Maryland* (1849), Lewis A. Leonard, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (1918); United States Catholic Historical Society, *Records and Studies*, 3 (1903) 226 f.; M. I. Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution* (1907-1911); R. W. Pomeroy (publisher), *Biographies of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (1827) in which the Carroll sketch is by his friend John H. B. Latrobe, the Baltimore inventor and scientist; Esmeralda Boyle, *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders* (1877); *Proceedings of the Senate and House of Representatives upon the Reception of the Statues of Charles Carroll and John Hanson erected in Statuary Hall of the Capitol* (1903); E. C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (1921-1931). Joseph Gunn has a new biography of Carroll which will be published late this autumn by P. J. Kenedy and Sons, New York.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POTATO

BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

IN recent discussions on the problem of replacing imported by home-grown feeding stuffs for farm animals the possibilities of the potato have received little attention, and yet it can be definitely stated that in the development of that crop there is the most promising field for increasing economically the output of home-grown feeding stuffs. The potato is particularly suitable to the climatic conditions of this country, as evidenced by the high average yields and the extraordinary potential yields. The following statistics of production in various countries in 1930-31 are of interest :—

	Acreage (under Potatoes)	Production (total in tons)	Production in tons per acre	Production in tons per head
Germany ..	6,930,000	46,356,000	6·69	·73
Poland ..	6,513,000	28,493,000	4·37	·90
France ..	3,644,000	16,356,000	4·49	·39
Czechoslovakia ..	1,750,000	8,049,000	4·60	·55
Belgium ..	400,000	2,708,000	6·77	·33
Netherlands ..	406,000	2,537,000	6·25	·33
Saorstat ..	347,000	2,337,000	6·73	·80
Denmark ..	170,000	992,000	5·83	·27

In Germany, where since the time of Frederick the Great there has been special concentration on the potato as the only means of keeping under agriculture the poor sandy lands covering wide areas of the country, a normal harvest yield of 40,000,000 tons is utilised as follows :—

	tons	per cent.
Seed ..	5,610,000	14·03
Loss ..	4,000,000	10
Human Consumption	12,130,000	30·32
Export ..	80,000	0·2
Distilleries ..	1,500,000	3·75
Starch Factories ..	650,000	1·62
Potato Drying ..	600,000	1·5
Animal Feeding ..	15,430,000	38·58

The percentage that the potato area bears to the total arable area in various countries is shown hereunder :—

	per cent.		per cent.
Irish Free State ..	23·8	Switzerland	8·9
Netherlands	18·4	France	6·3
Germany	13·5	Great Britain ..	4·6
Belgium	13·1	Sweden	4·2
Poland	12·9	Denmark	2·8
Czechoslovakia ..	10·6	Italy	1·9

It will be seen that, notwithstanding the extraordinary diminution in the total cultivated area of this country, the relative position of the potato crop as compared with other arable crops is the highest in the world. The yield per head of population is only exceeded by Poland, indicating that a far greater percentage of the total yield is used for animal feeding purposes in this than in any other country except Poland.

The total yield of potatoes in the Saorstat in the year 1930 was 2,337,000 tons. Taking the very high German figure of 4 cwts. per head per annum as the annual human consumption, there would be, approximately, 600,000 tons used for human consumption. The requirements for seed would be in the neighbourhood of 400,000 tons, leaving 1,337,000 tons, or over 57 per cent. for animal use. The relatively high utilisation of potatoes for animal feeding, corresponding in value to 6,500,000 cwts. of maize (one cwt. of maize being equivalent in food value to 4 cwts. of potatoes), is sufficient indication of the economy of potatoes grown on the farm as a feeding stuff for farm animals. If this production can be increased by increased acreage and by more intensive cultivation, the problem of replacing the present imports of maize is comparatively simple. Normal maize imports amount to about 8,000,000 cwts. (400,000 tons), corresponding in food value to 1,600,000 tons of potatoes, which could be obtained by an extra 200,000 acres under potatoes—or even by an extra 150,000 acres, if production

could be increased to 8 tons per acre over the whole potato acreage by better cultivation and management.

Notwithstanding the fact that the average yield of potatoes in the Saorstat is very high compared with other countries, it must be admitted that the yield falls very far short of the possibilities in view of the special advantageous conditions of soil and climate. The Department of Agriculture's Variety Tests, under ordinary farming conditions, point to what can be achieved by proper care in seed selection, manuring, cultivation and spraying. The following are the figures of yields per statute acre, representing the averages of some fifty centres :—

		tons	cwts.	qrs.
1927	Kerr's Pink ..	14	17	0
1928	„ „ ..	12	19	0
1929	Arran Banner ..	17	11	0
1930	„ „ ..	17	18	2
1931	„ „ ..	13	7	3
Average for five years ..		15	6	0

These results show what can be achieved in ordinary farming practice. It has to be emphasised that recent developments in the propagation of new high-yielding varieties, in the realisation of the importance of seed selection from disease-free stocks, in the manurial treatment and in the prevention of disease have revolutionised potato culture. The benefits of this knowledge can be applied to the production of food for livestock by concentration on high-yielding varieties and by intensification of culture. The extraordinary results from such extra care are apparent from the following figures giving yields per acre of the prize-winning crops under the prize scheme of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.

	tons	cwts.	qrs.	lbs.		tons	cwts.	qrs.	lbs.
1927 ..	28	10	0	0	1930 ..	24	19	3	0
1928 ..	28	2	0	0	1931 ..	23	12	0	0
1929 ..	35	1	0	0	1932 ..	23	17	3	12

That the potato is a very valuable and highly digestible feeding stuff is shown by the following

digestibility figures for various farm animals as determined by Völtz (Konigsberg) :—

Digestibility	Of organic substance	Of crude protein
By Pigs ..	96	77
By Ruminants ..	84	51
By Horses ..	93	88
By Poultry ..	78	47

Many experiments made in this country and on the Continent have shown that for practical purposes 4 lbs. of potatoes are equivalent to 1 lb. of maize meal.

According to experiments by Lehmann (Göttingen) a pig, fattened in 140 days from 44 lbs. to 242 lbs. live weight, consumed 16 cwt. of potatoes *plus* 2.1 cwt. of barley meal *plus* 90 lbs. of fish and meat meal.

Of the total energy value of the necessary food nutrients about two-thirds can be supplied from potatoes in the case of the pig, and one-half in the case of the hen. An important point in favour of the potato is the better quality of the bacon produced thereby as compared with the maize-fed product.

In Germany working horses have been very successfully fed with potatoes fresh cooked or silaged. Oats have been completely replaced by potatoes with a little soya meal. Potatoes are also suitable for fattening cattle and milking cows.

In view of the very extensive use made of potatoes in this country as fodder for farm animals the question naturally arises : if farmers find it economical to grow potatoes to the extent of nearly 60 per cent. of the total yield for feeding purposes, why is the acreage limited and why should any farmer, where potatoes can suitably be grown, be under the necessity of purchasing maize for pig feeding ? The answer is obvious. The farmer grows sufficient potatoes for the needs of his household

and as much as he can conveniently handle for pig feeding during the autumn and winter months without having heavy stocks on his hands when germination and consequent deterioration begin in the early spring. The question of increased production is bound up with the question of a cheap and convenient method of storing the potatoes in such a form as will avoid the heavy losses of nutrient matter and the heavy labour involved under the present system. With regard to the losses, German experiments have shown that by the first of June they amount to 50 per cent. of the food nutrients of the crop. It is, therefore, impracticable to hold the potato crop for feeding purposes long after temperature conditions are such that germination becomes serious. The use of the potato as fodder for animals is definitely limited by storage difficulties, and any extension of its use for animal feeding depends upon methods of preservation.

The simplest, cheapest and most generally applicable method for the preservation of potatoes is in silos. In Germany at present wide use is made of this method, and quite recently special credits were made available to farmers for the necessary capital expenditure in connection therewith. The process is simple. The potatoes are steamed and packed in concrete silos, with or without the addition of a lactic acid culture. The losses in food value amount only to from 5 to 10 per cent. The product can be held indefinitely, and its food value is equal to the food value of freshly cooked potatoes. Much experimental work has been done on this point in Germany, and the statement made as to food value has been verified in connection with all farm animals, including horses, for which the preserved product is specially suitable. This method is applicable on all farms, and its general adoption in this country would inevitably lead not only to an increase in the potato acreage, but to a more intensive cultivation of the potato.

The fact that such an enormous quantity of food

material is produced from potato growing—equivalent to three-fourths of the total imports of maize and in competition with it— is a *prima facie* argument in favour of the view that the home-grown potato is a more economical feeding stuff than imported maize. This fact is all the more remarkable in view of the general diminution in the cultivated area. An examination of the cost of production will show that, where potatoes are grown with due care and where reasonable attention is given towards heavy yields, home-grown potatoes can be produced at a lower cost per food unit than can be got in the form of maize, with that cereal at its lowest price. The figures shown in the Department of Agriculture's Variety Test over the last five years give an average yield of the highest yielding varieties of about 15 tons per statute acre. The 1914 cost of an acre of potatoes (including the labour remuneration of the farmer's family) as set out in the *Journal of the Department of Agriculture*, Volume 24, is £14 10s. This would approximate to present day costs, and having regard to the extreme difficulty of estimating farming costs it probably errs on the high side. A practical farmer, who keeps accurate accounts, has stated to the writer that his costs would not exceed £12 per acre. Taking the higher figure of £14 10s., the following table gives the cost of production per ton of potatoes for various yields and, allowing 2s. 6d. per ton as the approximate cost of cooking and storing, the equivalent price of maize meal delivered at the farm :—

Yield	Cost per ton	Equivalent price of maize
	s. d.	£ s. d.
20 tons per acre	14 6	3 8 0
15 ,, ,, ...	19 4	4 7 4
12 ,, ,, ...	24 2	5 6 8
10 ,, ,, ...	29 0	6 6 0
8 ,, ,, ...	36 3	7 15 0

These figures clearly indicate the potentialities of the

potato crop as a means of replacing maize. It has to be borne in mind that, in the official costing figures, one-third of the total is for human labour.

The potato crop lends itself to intensive production on our small farm, calling as it does for the greatest care and attention in cultivation, manuring and spraying. There is no serious weather problem involved, as in the case of cereal crops. Increased production can be effected by propaganda on the method of storage in silos, which has been practised for years on the Continent. Some little study may be needed towards providing the simplest and most efficient mechanism for steaming the potatoes before storage, and probably credit may be needed for providing the necessary capital. There is no doubt, however, that the country's requirements in carbohydrate feeding stuffs can be more economically provided by the potato than by imported maize, even at its present low cost, while the extensive development of the storage of potatoes in silos would of itself, without any other stimulus, lead to greatly increased production of potatoes; for it would make available the whole year round a form of food suitable for all farm animals and especially pigs.

The artificial drying of potatoes in the form of potato flakes or potato pulp is extensively practised on the Continent and particularly in Germany. While it is difficult to get accurate figures on costings, the possibilities of this industry in the future, if and when potato growing is intensified, are not to be overlooked.

The potential production of potatoes per acre, as shown in the figures quoted, is in very marked contrast to the average production. It is suggested that far greater intensity of production would be stimulated by the provision of simple and cheap storage accommodation for potatoes, whereby the farmer could be practically independent of purchased feeding stuffs. It is probably true that the principal reason for the low average production is the concentration by the farmer on low yielding

varieties of superior quality for table use. This is a natural development in view of the importance of the potato in the diet of the rural population. If the potato is to be more intensively cultivated with a view to the provision of food for farm animals, concentration of effort must be directed towards high-yielding varieties capable of producing the maximum number of food units per acre. It is probable that the ideal form of development would be in the direction of a limited area of potatoes of high culinary value for human consumption, the rest of the acreage being utilised for the production of potatoes for animal use. But the main effort—if the programme outlined herein is to be followed—is towards increased yields of the higher yielding varieties for animal use.

The economical use of feeding stuffs for farm animals is as important as their cost. Potatoes and maize are essentially starchy foods, and for their economical utilisation the necessary protein has to be supplied in other forms. It can hardly be denied that under present circumstances much of the imported maize is uneconomically used during the winter owing to the absence of a cheap protein supplement. In the summer there is available plenty of skim milk, which forms an ideal combination with the starchy foods for the production of pig and poultry products. In the winter there is a serious scarcity of skim milk. Statistics of the imports and production of alternative protein foods such as fish and meat meal are not available, but it is certain that they are not adequate to compensate for the lack of skim milk during the winter. While, therefore, a limited number of farmers feed balanced rations to their pigs and poultry during the winter, it is undoubtedly a fact that the greater number do not. The rations consisting of the available foods are lacking in protein, the result being a serious waste in the utilisation of the starchy foods. As far as home produced foods are concerned, we are then in the position that in the summer

there is a surplus of skim milk and in the winter large quantities of potatoes are available. The programme outlined above indicates how the potato can be utilised as a source of carbohydrate throughout the year by the adoption of the storage methods referred to. Equally important is it, for the economical use of the potato, that cheap protein should be available in the winter.

In previous articles in STUDIES the writer has referred to this problem. Since these articles were written there is an accumulation of evidence of the practicability of the production of winter milk on an economical basis by the storage in silos of summer produced grass or suitable arable crops in the poorer lands. One result from Germany may be quoted: in an experimental station on German moorland twenty-eight cows averaged 888 gallons of milk per annum. The food was pasture in summer, and grass silage and a little good hay (dried on frames) in the winter. No cow got concentrated food unless giving over 4½ gallons of milk per day, and the total amount of concentrates for the entire herd in the year was only 13 cwts.

The result quoted is only one of many which put beyond the region of doubt the practicability of winter dairying in this country. The complete utilisation of the cow's capacity for milk production is essential to the economy of the dairying industry itself. Winter milk production supplies, as a by-product, the cheaply produced protein in the skim milk essential for pig and poultry production as an economical supplement to the potato and other starchy foods.

It is submitted that the cheap production of winter milk by proper conservation of grass and arable crops and the cheap production of carbohydrate food for use throughout the year by the intensive culture of the potato are essential elements in the development of a sound agricultural programme.

HENRY KENNEDY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XXIV.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

Fearflatha ó nGniomh ecc.

1. Mo ghéanar ceangalar cumann bainfíoghna
feangbar glaingfíobbha dá gcumam déanamh daigh-
fiaghla
do ghéan ceangal ar cóir neimhdíoghla
re hóig mbinnfíoghna nach earrach ainliamhna.

2. Ní mairg do bual fa a bhreith dtrócuirigh
Luan an trlóghcuirigh dár mbreith ór mbréagceanaibh
ceanglam re mnaoi nach deonuigh ar ndítheaghail
ar mbeoluibh iceamhail ar gcaoi i gcéiteamhain.

3. Cumann ó fíoghain mar í ní fuaramar
do chualamar go fíodhuigh fí gach fírfiomadh
do chionn deich míle ir míle naomhainnear
aondaingean dár mbreith fan fíghe do fíneamar.

4. Le fíg na ngrár féidh gion go rabhaimne
budh léir mo bhanaighne ar dá chár dár gcobhairne
cur díoghla nach éidear 'n-ár n-aghaidhe
daghaighne fíoghna 'r a céidfear dá comhairle.

5. An tí do bhaoi fóinn ar an fíoghchuinne
a chíochbuime 'n-a hóig 'r 'n-a mnaoi mhórchloinne
do iadh fa chách mar charadh bhréathluinne
ar n-éanchoilline fa bhlát ar larar lóchrainne.

6. Ar bhfion fionn i gcorraidh chóirraithe
ar mionn órchloiche do thogail nach táirraithe
ar ndá bheinn do bheith gach aonchluiche
le raorfuithe feinn ar bheith an bhráthlaithe.

7. Baincéann na n-óg brionn i brlaiteamnar
raiceanglar riom 'r ní ar ór ná ar eicionnmur
bean ar teactaire ar mo ceann ón caitirlior
ir fearr aitimrior ar mbeartaine i mbreiteamnar.

8. Gruadá breaca ar eiriomláin don fíneamain
leaca mar fídealaig gcneiriomláin gclúimioáin
ruirg mar eigread earla mar órfalaig
meanma ógamail ir deigbean don Dúileamain.

9. Soiteac do bráic na dige diadácta
cride riaglta do mait ar mórfalta
bean nac fairdéag ar các a gcaoilocta
tát na daonnacta aigéan na hógacta.

10. Mór buo leigte le mnaoi maillbréitre
eitne na pailmféitle i gcnaoi dár gcollbláitne
ar n-orta logaidne i ló na mionráitne
[iomrnáidte] dó ar a comairle a combráitre.

11. An laoidre róinn re reire dár raocairne
don óig maocainne ar treire ar a triacoidre
bean nac dingnead ó dorar ar ndíocuirne
ar rolar riocoinnle ar n-ingean lacaimne.

12. Ní maoidte dam ar an óig n-infeadóa
'r a car re tigeatna róinn do rolabra
dá rann déag do dúrracт ar n-ealadna
ir méad mo ceanfagla i dtnúcgort na togarma.

Mo géanar

Translation

1. Blessed is he who secures the love of the queen, that lady of graceful powerful noble hand, for whom I fashion this artful poem; by way of escaping punishment, I will bind a pact with the sweet virgin-queen beyond reproach.

2. Happy for those of us who get a merciful judgment from her and are saved from our deceitful sins on the Monday of the Hosting; let me unite myself with this lady who permits not my ruinous rejection, who is my ready herb of health, my cuckoo in springtime.

3. We have never got any queen to love us as she does; we know how she pacifies every lasting quarrel; trusting in the (example of the) eleven thousand holy virgins, we have made of her a strong guide to lead us into the Kingdom.

4. Though we be not in favour with the Lord of Grace, my lady-pleader will, 'tis certain, help me—for a double cause for she is a queen advocate and has her dear spouse to obey her—so that no stroke of vengeance awaits me.

5. He who existed before us in the world placed His nurse, a Virgin and fruitful mother, about us as a circle of woodbine, our blooming hazel-tree, our flaming torch.

6. Our bright wine in warm enclosing stream (?), our precious golden jewel that cannot be robbed, our two spears (?) to win every contest and to bring us safe from judgment on Doomsday.

7. 'Tis the queen of the fair virgins in Heaven whom I have bound to myself, and not for sake of gold or wealth of steeds, the lady who has been sent out from the castle as a herald (inviting me in), and who at the Judgment can best contest my evil conduct.

8. Coloured cheeks like to a vine, cheeks like to the perfect-formed pure-downed fairy swan, eyes as ice-crystals, hair bright as gold bracelet, heart of a maiden, dear spouse of the Creator.

9. Vessel of the fermented wine of divinity, upright heart pardoning our great offences, lady who regards not carefully men's little faults, saviour of humanity, ocean of virginity.

10. Much will be granted at the prayer of this majestic-spoken lady; she is a kernel of a branching woodbine placed in a shell of our hazel-bloom; she is a charm to command indulgence for us on the Day of Judgment; His brethren are to be saved by God at her word.

11. This poem of my art is composed in love for the gentle Virgin who has power over her Prince; she is a lady who will not drive us from the gate; she is our great candle-light, our daughter of Joachim.

12. To this most worthy Virgin I offer ungrudgingly—all the more as I am urging her to speak for me, spite of my weight of offences, to her Lord in the Field of Summons for which I sigh—these twelve verses of the best of my art.

Notes

MSS.: O'Conor Don's Book f. 118 (O); 24 P 4 p. 244 (P); P is very corrupt. Text is O except for places noted below.

1*c* For similar uses of cóiṁ *cf.* *Dán Dé* xx 21, *Irish Monthly*, 1920, p. 598 v. 40. *d* nach umha me haint. P. 2*d* ceitcedamain O. 3*c* *Cf.* *Studies* 1930, p. 439, v. 11. 4*c* éitiṁ OP. *d* dagoigthe P; ceitḟiṁ O. 5*a* An ṁí do roinn ar O, An cí do bí roinn P. *c* gor iad P. *d* néanċoille O, neanċoill P; mar l. P; tarais O. 6*a* corṁaiḋe O, ċobhuiḋe P; meaning of corṁaiḋ doubtful. For córtha *cf.* IGT p. 39. *b* ttarbuigte O, ttarbuiḋe P. *c* meaning of beinn doubtful; -cluiḋe O. *d* raonbuiḋe O, raonbuiḋe P; finn OP. 8*a* gruaiḋ bheag O, gruaḋa bheaga P. 10*c* nomhta OP. *d* iomrnáiḋe O, iomnaiḋe P; reading doubtful. 11*c* diongnaḋ O. *d* mogḋ. 12*a* ninfeaḋma P.

IRISH BENEDICTINES IN NUREMBERG

An Examination of the "Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg."

BY REV. PATRICK J. BARRY, PH.D.

THE monastery of St. Aegidius, Nuremberg, belonged to the Ratisbon Congregation of Irish Benedictines, known in Germany throughout the Middle Ages as *Scoti*. It was founded about 1140 by Conrad III and remained in possession of the Irish monks till the time of the Council of Constance, 1418. It then passed into the hands of German monks from the monastery of Reichenbach. The causes that led to the change are set forth in the document that forms the principal object of the following investigation.

One interested in the history of the Irish monks at Nuremberg would not investigate far before reaching what might at first be considered a primary source in relation to the subject. I mean the *Historia Fratris Colomanni Monachi Aegidiani, O.S.B. de Ortu Monasterii Sancti Aegidii Norimbergensis per Scotos*, etc., which is to be found in Oefele's well known *Scriptores Rerum Boicarum*, Vol. I., p. 340. This was my experience. But I soon discovered that there was an earlier source from which Coloman's History was almost entirely drawn. The source in question is entitled *Chronica Monasterii Sancti Aegidii in Nurenbergk*. It is known as Phillips MS. 1286, in the Prussian State Library, Berlin. In the following pages it will be referred to for brevity sake as the *Chronicle*. I shall narrate its contents, discuss its date and the circumstances under which it was written, and finally try to determine its value as an historical source of information regarding the Irish Benedictines in Nuremberg.

The Contents of the "Chronicle"

In a formal preamble the author tells us that, because of the unreliability of human memory, he has thought well to relate what happened in connection with the reformation of the monastery of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg. At the very outset we are told that the writer's primary purpose is to record the circumstances under which the Irish Benedictines were replaced by German in the year 1418.

The early history of the *Scoti* of the Ratisbon congregation is then briefly sketched. We are told the story of Marianus and his companions, of the expansion and growth of the Ratisbon community, and of the founding of the monasteries of St. James in Würzburg and of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg. The source used by the writer is the Vita B. Mariani Scoti.[1] Many passages are borrowed from the *Vita* without change of a word.

The writer then abandons this early source and makes a rapid transition to recount conditions in the monastery as they were before the Council of Constance. For a hundred years or more previous to that time it was destitute of monks. The abbot resided without a convent, sometimes without a professed brother, very rarely with one or two professed. The life of the abbot was lax and unedifying.[2] The canonical hours were not recited, though the bells were regularly rung for them. On certain festivals indeed the schoolmaster and his boys sang Matins or part of them, Mass and Vespers, but in a cursory way and without proper measure. By reason of the bad management of the abbots and the monks the place had become so neglected and dilapidated as to have lost almost all semblance of a monastery. The chapter room had been turned into a chapel which men and women might daily

[1] Acta Sanctorum, Feb. II., Vita B. Mariani Scoti, Abb. Ratisp.

[2] Frequenter unus abbas pro tempore ibidem sine conventu . . . . residebat, vitam enormiter dissolutam ducens, alios malo suo exemplo notorie corrumpendo.—*Chronicle.*

enter. Secular priests lived in the infirmary. The refectory and dormitory and other characteristic adjuncts of a monastery had almost disappeared. So great was the ruin and collapse! The rents and income of the monastery had been alienated. The cloister was violated without restraint. There was eating and drinking and dice and women. Wine was dispensed as in a tavern. The wickedness of the place was proverbial in the city.[1]

We are next told that, shortly after the reformation of the Dominican house in Nuremberg, loud complaints were raised against the *Scoti*. Thereupon Bishop Lampert of Bamberg, through notable persons, warned them to mend their ways, to live as religious, and to celebrate the divine office; otherwise he must proceed against them. The abbot at the time took no notice of the warning, continued to alienate property, putting up for sale what was left. About the year 1411 or 1412 Bishop Lampert, again roused by complaints, sent certain prelates and doctors, religious and secular, to visit and reform the monastery in spirituals and in temporals. The result of this visitation was that the abbot consented to the following arrangements:—

(1) Two discreet and circumspect custodians or trustees were to be appointed to collect the revenues of the monastery, to pay off the debts, and to provide the lord abbot and the other ministers and servants of the monastery with food and clothing and the other necessaries of life. They were also to keep the buildings in repair. And at stated times they must give an account of their expenditures to the abbot, to the representatives of the bishop, and to others interested.

(2) The visitors commanded the abbot that, in case he could not procure monks of the Scottish (Irish) nation, he must get

[1] Redditus quoque et proventus fere omnes et singuli alienati et dilapidati fuerunt, nec claustralis habebatur clausura. Sic cuilibet liber ingressus et egressus patebat, commessationes et potationes, ludi etiam ad hazardum et taxillos frequenter fiebant, necnon mulieres tam communes quam aliae maritatae intrantes et exeuntes quandoque ibidem pernoctabant, in tantum ut communi verteretur proverbio quod uxorem amittens eam in monasterio Scotorum quaerere deberet. Vinum etiam publice ad modum tabernae propinabatur in monasterio, etc.—(*Chronicle*).

eight German Benedictines. Failing to procure the latter, then eight secular priests are to be taken and to be paid by the trustees out of the funds of the monastery. (But since no religious could be found to stay in the monastery, secular priests lived there for several years).

(3) They ordained that the monastery seal and the rent book should be controlled by three keys, of which the bishop held one, the abbot a second, and the trustee a third.

(4) The abbot must send for novices to *Scotia* or *Hibernia* at the expense of the monastery.

He did actually send; but the messenger returned with three young laymen, untaught and unlettered, and altogether unfit and indisposed for monkhood. They were received, but would make no progress. They roamed about the country and finally ran away. Meantime the secular priests were living in the monastery; but in the course of time their conduct became quite as intolerable as that of the *Scoti* at their worst.[1] Frequently there was no one to say the daily Mass, and it was customary to send to the Mendicants or elsewhere for a priest.

New complaints reached Bishop Albert of Bamberg that the provisions above stated did not improve matters at *St. Aegidius*. The abbot was living there without any conventuals. He and the secular priests were leading a dissolute life. Wherefore the bishop instituted a new visitation. The Visitors, after considerable deliberation, decreed that six Benedictine priests and three novices should be procured for the monastery, but on sending to Kastl and to Reichenbach no one could be found willing to come to *St. Aegidius* because of its evil repute. At length three monks came from the monastery of Neuberg (Novi Montis) near Fulda, and these were given full power by the bishop to reform the monastery in head and members, in temporals and spirituals.

[1] Supradicti autem sacerdotes saeculares locum et vicem religiosorum supplentes successu temporis satis scotice vivere inceperunt, ludis et commessationibus et potationibus die noctuque inserviendo, mediasque frequenter noctes duxere insomnes adeoque inordinate viventes ut plerumque nullus ex eis omnibus ad missam celebrandum esset dispositus, unde consuetudinem habebant mittendi ad monasteria fratrum mendicantium aut ad sacerdotes alios ut ex eis aliquis de mane missam celebraret.—(*Chronicle*).

Again the Bishop and the Abbot sent to Ireland for six persons from those parts to devote themselves to religious life. The messenger returned with four young Irishmen who had no testimonial letters. When these saw the monks from Fulda practising the strict observance, they said that they had not come to this land to practise fasts and abstinences and vigils, nor for chanting nor spiritual reading. If they had wished to devote themselves to such practices, they could have entered many monasteries in their own country. They had been promised by the messenger, they said, that they would have abundance of many things and that they could live "like lords." One of them named John, after three days, left the place uttering maledictions. The second, named Thaddeus, remained from the feast of the Purification till Easter. The third, named Donald, was sent to Kastl to be trained in the regular observance, but soon came back to *St. Aegidius*. He took some books and money and the seal of the abbot and made himself a letter of permission and left the monastery. But on his journey homeward with a young compatriot, with whom he was travelling, he died or was killed. The fourth, named Cormac, remained until after the death of Abbot Mauritius, but he never would live under the observance. He got permission to return to *Scotia* and died there shortly after his return.

The abbots did everything in their power to avoid bringing German monks into the monastery and tried hard to induce monks from the other *Schottenklöster* to come to *St. Aegidius*. But though many had come successively and were well treated by the reforming monks, none of them could be induced to remain. And though the monks from Fulda were five years in the monastery, yet in that time not a single one of the *Scoti* was found willing to live under the observance. Nay, the *Scoti* who thus came made things very difficult for the reformers. They not only did not co-operate; they even threatened the lives of the good monks.

Now when Abbot Mauritius saw himself put under

restraint by the reforming monks (of Fulda) above mentioned, he consulted the abbots of Würzburg and Ratisbon and others, and then began to invoke the secular arm against the Bishop of Bamberg, the aldermen of Nuremberg, and the reforming monks, looking for assistance to the Burgraves Johann and Friedrich, trying to subject the monastery and all its properties to their custody, so that he and the monks of his nation might live as wickedly as in former times. The abbot handed over to the Burgraves the rent book of the monastery. It was long in the Burgraves' possession and was restored only after the death of the Burgrave Johann. The latter, at the instance of the abbot, had written threatening letters to Bishop Albert of Bamberg and to the aldermen of Nuremberg, warning them to keep their hands off the monastery. The aldermen excused themselves by saying that it was not their business to reform monasteries, but that what was done in *St. Aegidius* was done by the Bishop of Bamberg as local ordinary. The Bishop of Bamberg replied expressing surprise. He could see no objection to the Burgraves defending the temporalities of the monastery, but they must remember not to interfere in spirituals, in which they have no concern. The Burgraves then kept quiet for a time.

Meantime the reformers from Fulda were departing. One was recalled; another became sick, but was replaced by a substitute. As reformers they had no success. Bishop Albert of Bamberg asked them to stay until he could make more precise arrangements for the reformation of the monastery. This he did by sending as Visitors the Dean of Bamberg, Antonius Rotenhahn, Canon Frederick von Aufsess (both later Bishops of Bamberg), Master Heynung Woltenhagen, Professor of theology, Master Heinrich Horlacher, Vicar-General, the Provost of the Canons Regular at Neunkirchen, Prior Henry of the Carthusians at Nuremberg, and Masters Albert and John, pastors of St. Sebald's and St. Laurence's respectively, in Nuremberg.

The Visitors found the monastery wretchedly collapsed in spirituals and in temporals. And so, after long deliberation, they decided that it was vain to spend money to bring monks from *Scotia*. There was no hope of reform through the *Scoti*, who had so mortgaged and alienated the movable and immovable property of the monastery that an abbot and one or two monks could not be supported out of the entire revenue. It was best to invite other monks or seculars who would be willing to accept the observance.

Against this decision the Abbots of Nuremberg, Ratisbon, and Würzburg complained to King Sigismund. The king was displeased and wrote to those concerned to desist from molesting the *Scoti*. But the Bishop sent Otto of Miltz, provost of Würzburg and canon of Bamberg, to the king to give him a full account of the circumstances. And when the king learned these, he ordered the reforming monks of Fulda to remain in the monastery and forbade anyone to interfere with them. If disputes should arise he enjoined that they be referred for decision to the Council of Constance, which was then in session.

On November 27, 1416, the Council of Constance ordered a general chapter of the abbots and priors of the Benedictine Order of the Mainz-Bamberg province, to meet in the monastery of Petershausen to consider reforms in the spirit of the Constitutions of Honorius III and Benedict XII. The chapter met on February 28, 1417. Nearly all the abbots of the province were present, either personally or by proxy. Among them was Abbot Mauritius of *St. Aegidius*. One decree of this chapter related to the number of monks to be maintained in each monastery. This number should be that for which of old the monastery was intended. If the income were no longer adequate, then the number of monks should be proportioned to the income. Those monasteries intended for nobles should abandon their exclusiveness if noble novices were not sufficient. If such were procurable, they were to be

preferred. And the decree continues: "We will that the same principle be observed in the monasteries of the *Scoti*."

The abbots of the *Schottenklöster* in Ratisbon, Würzburg, and Nuremberg warmly opposed this prescription and produced letters of the Burgraves Friedrich and Johann in support of their claims to independence, but it was quite in vain. The abbot of Ratisbon withdrew his opposition, and the other two submitted to the chapter. Then Abbot Mauritius, willing to obey the chapter and seeing that he could not procure monks from Scotia or Hibernia nor from the other monasteries who would live under the observance (save Brother Cormacus alone), declared formally before a notary public that he would accept monks of the German nation and labour faithfully for the reform of his monastery.

Desirous of fulfilling his promise, Abbot Mauritius sent frequent messages and messengers to the monastery of St. Mary, Reichenbach, asking for monks to introduce the reform and promising to receive two of them to profession. The abbot and monks of Reichenbach hesitated for a considerable time because of the bad repute of *St. Aegidius;* but at length they yielded to the prayers of Abbot Mauritius and of other good men.

And thus in the year 1418, on the Thursday following *Invocavit* Sunday, Abbot Mauritius graciously received eight persons from Reichenbach. Those who came found scarcely anything in the monastery. Immovable property was for the most part alienated, much of the income was sold, the garden near the Choir was mortgaged to a certain citizen named Peter Haller, and here men and women went in and out as they wished. The mitre and pastoral staff of the abbot were pawned. There were no beds, knives, towels, kitchen utensils, nor other necessaries. The new comers were about to withdraw; but some good men asked them to be patient and that these things would be provided; and so they were in due time.

On May 2 of the same year Abbot Mauritius, with the

consent of Brother Cormacus, admitted two of the Reichenbach reformers to profession and stability. These were Georius Möringer of Happurg and Conrad Palbein of Ratisbon. Immediately he constituted Frater Georius prior, giving him charge in spirituals, and Frater Conrad he made sub-prior, custodian, and his own confessor. The Bishop of Bamberg was pleased and restored the two keys, the one which he or one of the aldermen retained in his name and the one retained by the administrator of the church. It was at this time that the abbots of Kastl and Mönchsberg visited the monastery. They recommended a change in the form of the cowl, in accordance with the regulations of the chapter at Petershausen.

Only two books remained in the library—a New Testament and a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict. In the Choir there was one fairly good Gradual for the schoolboys, and an Antiphonary, for a long time pawned to Peter Haller, was lying under the stairs of his room. There were two parts of a lectionary which were used by the priests who said the early Masses. In the Sacristy there were three missals. The ornaments of the church were few and old. When solemn processions took place, they borrowed what was necessary from the Dominicans.

Abbot Mauritius died on September 24, 1418. The three conventuals, Brothers Georius, Conradus, and Cormacus, proceeding by way of a ballot, held an election two electing a third. Georius was elected abbot, and the election was published on September 28, and was confirmed by the Bishop of Bamberg. The new abbot was formally installed on the Sunday following the feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

The new abbot, Georius Möringer, was a native of Happurg and had been a secular priest before joining the Benedictines at Reichenbach. When the news of his election reached the ears of the abbot of Ratisbon, the latter protested strongly to King Sigismund. But the king having consulted certain citizens of Nuremberg who

were in Ratisbon at the time, approved of everything and imposed silence on the abbot of Ratisbon. He also requested the Burgrave Johann to desist from troubling the abbot of *St. Aegidius*, pointing out that he and not the Burgraves of Nuremberg was the Custodian of the monastery. And the Burgrave desisted.

The writer of the *Chronicle* concludes by telling us the reason for his "digression"—namely, that posterity might know why and how and in what manner it happened that Germans were introduced in place of the *Scoti*. The monks of Reichenbach had found the place desolate, but with the help of the Lord and of good men, day by day and with great labor, they raised up the ruined buildings. They found only part of the refectory, a few cells, part of the kitchen, and only a few other structures between the monastery and the church which were erected by Conrad Cingel, a prudent and discreet citizen of Nuremberg who was the custodian or administrator of the monastery. This Conrad was most zealous in the cause of religion; his labours for the restoration and reformation of the monastery at the Council of Constance and before kings and princes and prelates and citizens were almost beyond measure and were prolonged over a period of thirty years or more. After God himself he was the great cause of the reformation of the monastery.

Such are the contents of the first part of the *Chronicle of St. Aegidius*. I have paraphrased it slightly for the sake of brevity, but have omitted nothing of interest or importance. The second part is entirely different in plan and purpose. It is entitled *De Structuris Monasterii*. It is a record, year by year (1418–1459), of structural improvements and additions made by the German monks. It is no longer concerned with the *Scoti* and in our present enquiry is of interest to us only in so far as it enables us to determine the date of the manuscript as a whole. This we shall now proceed to do.

The Date of the Composition of the "Chronicle"

The manuscript of the *Chronicle* is described in an article, "Reise nach England vom Juli 1895 bis Februar 1896," by Karl Hampe in the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Geschichtskunde*, Bd. 22, S. 24. At that time it belonged to the Phillipps Collection, a private library in Cheltenham. Shortly before the war it was purchased for the Royal Library, Berlin, where it is at present. It is a fragment of a much larger codex,[1] consisting of eleven parchment leaves bound with a parchment deed of Bishop Ludwig of Bamberg, *Cum ex pastoralis cura*, dated Feb. 6, 1372. It is most likely the same manuscript that was preserved in the *Landalmosenamt* in Nuremberg until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. A very careful copy of it was made before its disappearance from Nuremberg, and this is still preserved in the Stadtbibliothek there and listed as *Nor. H.* 177.[2]

Karl Hampe was of opinion that the *Chronicle* was composed about the year 1473, the last date to appear on fol. XI. I think it was completed thirteen or fourteen years earlier for the following reasons :—

(1) The section concerning the reform of the monastery is followed, as I have said, by a section entitled *De Structuris Monasterii* recording structural improvements year by year from 1418 till 1459. The next entry is 1473 ; it records the sale of a number of small valuables (clinodia) necessitated, as was alleged, by financial strain caused by improvements and purchases. This paragraph, however, has the appearance of an independent entry made in a convenient place long after the last record of the structural improvements had been made.

[1] On folio VI[r]. we are referred to folio CXXXVII, indicating that originally it was a codex of very considerable size.

[2] I have compared my own copy of *Nor. H.* 177 with a photostatic copy of *Phillipps* 1286. The differences between the two are few and unimportant and are copyist's errors. There is no doubt but that *Phillipps* 1286 once belonged to the monastery of St. Aegidius ; it is the genuine original.

(2) That the manuscript as a whole was composed about the years 1459-60 would seem likely. It is to be noted that whereas in *Phillipps* 1286 there is an hiatus between 1459 and 1473, Colomannus,[1] the continuator of *Phillipps* 1286, has two entries for the same period. It would seem as if he thought that the chronicle must be resumed at the year 1459 rather than at 1473. These two entries are of such a nature that they would not have been omitted by the earlier chronicler had he written after 1465. The first records the death of Abbot George Möringer on October 13, 1465, more than ninety years of age at the time. The second entry records the election of Abbot Sebaldus Helmasperger, October 26, 1465. He had been prior of the monastery and had been actually ruling the monastery—enduring patiently, we are told, the senility of Abbot George. The earlier chronicler would not have failed to record these facts had they already occurred as he wrote. He had already recorded the main facts of Abbot George's life—his appointment as prior, May 2, 1418; his election as abbot, September 28, 1418; his resignation, December 29, 1429; and his re-election, August 31, 1435. The chronicler of the monastery would surely record his death. Hence it seems certain that the *Chronicle* was written before 1465.

The manuscript was written after 1447, in fact a considerable number of years after this date. On fol. VI^{r}., at the end of the narrative of the reformation of the monastery, there is reference to the death of Conrad Cingel, the custodian or trustee appointed by the city to look after the temporal interests of the monastery. The writer of the *Chronicle* had apparently not known

[1] Frater Colomannus was a German monk of the Abbey of St. Aegidius. He was not an Irish monk, as Dr. Hogan asserted (*Irish Eccles. Record*, Oct. 1895, p. 867). He was a continuator of the earlier chronicle (*Phillipps* 1286), bringing it down to the year 1504. His work is thirty to forty years later than the one we are considering, and is in the main only an abbreviation of it. Only in one instance are we indebted to him for information on the period of our study. He supplies us with the exact date of Conrad Cingel's death. In all other matters relating to the Irish monks he can be left out of consideration as a secondary source.

or had forgotten the year and the day of his death; so he wrote as follows, leaving a space to be filled in later: *Hic anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo*

in oppido Sultzbach carnis deposita sarcina ad Dominum ut speramus evolavit.

The space was never filled in. Colomannus, however, supplies us with the date—" the Monday after St. Catherine's Day (November 27), 1447."

These clues give a date of composition some time between 1455 and 1465. The margin can be reduced still further. Among the Visitors of the monastery in the year 1416 were mentioned *Dominus Antonius de Rotenhan, tunc Bambergensis ecclesiae decanus et postea episcopus* and *Dominus Fridericus de Aufsess tunc dictae ecclesiae canonicus et scholasticus et postmodum episcopus.* Fridericus resigned the bishopric in 1431 and was succeeded by Bishop Antonius, who died in 1459.[1] Both bishops are spoken of as deceased, and so our manuscript was probably written after 1459 and before 1465.

This date fits in well with a theory put forward by me a few years ago in a little work[2] dealing with the reform of the *Schottenkloster* in Vienna, which also took place in the year 1418. Scandalously lax behaviour was also alleged against the *Scoti* in Vienna in a document written by a German monk there between the years 1465 and 1466. It is known as the *Memoriale Reformationis ad Scotos.* Both the *Memoriale* and the *Chronicle* resemble each other in the spirit of vehement denunciation and unconcealed dislike which they manifest. Both tell substantially the same story of utter disregard for religious observance, of extravagance and bad management. But for forceful presentation of the case and apparent precision of detail we must concede superiority to the Nuremberg writer. The Vienna man is more naïve.

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[1] Eubel, *Hier. Cath. Med. Aev.* II, 102.

[2] *Die Zustände im Wiener Schottenkloster vor der Reform des Jahres* 1418 (Aichach, 1927), p. 67f.

If there was question of dependence of one on the other, I should say that the Nuremberg man was more original.

But it is not merely question of general resemblance. There is one passage in particular in which the similarity occurs to us at once. It is a striking passage to meet with in the history of a religious institution; and when we come across it a second time we are naturally surprised. Candidly I am puzzled by it, and I wonder whether the misdeeds of the *Scoti* could first of all have been so repeated and prolonged as to have become proverbial in both Nuremberg and in Vienna, and then that in both cities the proverb should find expression in almost identical formulae. The Nuremberg writer makes no reference to Vienna, nor does the Vienna monk refer to Nuremberg. As far as outward expression goes, the one writer is utterly unconscious of the other's existence and of the other's monastery as well. Yet the substitution of German for Irish monks in both monasteries in 1418 must have been well known to either writer in 1460. Why then is there no reference by our chronicler to Vienna or by the author of the *Memoriale* to Nuremberg?

The following are the passages to which I refer :—

(1) *Memoriale:* Postea vero quando declinaverunt ab observantia regulari et incipiebant irreligiosi vivere et bona monasterii male consumere et publice jam Choreas ducere et taxillis ludere et cum phalangis jactitare et officium divinum male persolvere; pulsabant quidem sed non intrabant et, si intrabant, cursorie persolvebant. *Itaque erat proverbium in civitate quod qui non haberet uxorem suam quaereret eam ad Scotos. Haec et alia plura faciebant quae non sunt dicenda.*

Chronicle of St. Aegidius: Horae canonicae ibidem nec legebantur neque cantabantur, quamvis ad eas pluries solemniter pulsabatur, hoc excepto quod rector scholarium . . . . matutinas vel missam publicam et vesperas quandoque cantare cursorie et sine mensura consuevit . . . . Redditus quoque et proventus fere omnes et singuli alienati et dilapidati fuerant, nec claustralis habebatur clausura. Sic cuilibet liber ingressus et egressus patebat. Commessationes et potationes, ludi etiam ad hazardum et taxillos frequenter fiebant; necnon mulieres tam communes quam aliae

maritatae intrantes et exeuntes quandoque ibidem pernoctabant, *in tantum ut communi verteretur proverbio quod uxorem amittens eam in monasterio Scotorum quaerere deberet. Multaque alia mala ibidem committebantur quae silentio tradere honestius arbitror quam pias aures eisdem commaculare.*

Are the verbal resemblances in these passages the result of coincidence? And then is it the result of coincidence that both writers, having communicated the finest piece of scandal possible to relate of a monastery, give expression to a sentiment of pious silence regarding other matters that will remain unsaid? I leave the puzzle to others to solve with greater certainty. My theory was and is that the *Chronicle* was written first—that is to say, about the year 1460. The author of the *Memoriale*,[1] writing about 1465, was aware of the contents of the *Chronicle*. One passage in particular was easy to remember. That passage and the general spirit of the *Chronicle* he reproduced in his own composition.

It is certain, at all events, that the *Chronicle* was written forty to fifty years after the exclusion of the Irish monks from *St. Aegidius*. The author was undoubtedly a German monk of the monastery. The script seems to be that of a professional scribe; it is a beautifully regular hand. The initial capitals are moderately ornate.

The importance of this manuscript is that it is the earliest and the sole original witness of decidedly unsatisfactory conditions in the monastery previous to 1418. All other writers who speak of the degeneration of the later Irish monks in Nuremberg are dependent directly or indirectly on this source. They are of no value as independent witnesses. I have already spoken of the History of Frater Colomannus.[2] Because the latter alone has been printed, it has been the source most drawn upon by modern writers. It is nothing more than an abbreviation of the *Chronicle*. Hartmann Schedel also wrote

[1] For examination of the historical value of the *Memoriale* see *Die Zustände*, etc.
[2] Edited by E. F. Oefele, *Scriptores Rerum Boicarum*, Vol. I., 343.

a chronicle of the monastery. He was born at Nuremberg in 1440, was a monk of *St. Aegidius*; but he did not begin his chronicle until after 1492. It is far more moderate in what it has to say of the *Scoti* than the *Chronicle* on which it depends and of which it is only a generalisation.[1] Dependent on the *Chronicle* also is Sigmund Meisterlin both in his Latin and in his German Chronicle of the city of Nuremberg. But Meisterlin is admitted by all as the least reliable of the city's chroniclers. He too wrote twenty to thirty years after the composition of the *Chronicle*, and he expatiates with delight on the misdeeds of the *Scoti*.[2] But his source is undoubtedly the *Chronicle*. On it therefore rests the whole case against their reputation, and hence the importance of forming a true estimate of it and of the circumstances under which it first saw the light.

CIRCUMSTANCES PRECEDING THE COMPOSITION OF THE "CHRONICLE"

From anything that appears in the *Chronicle* one would not suspect that the German monks of *St. Aegidius* had, after the year 1418, any relations pleasant or unpleasant with the *Scoti*. The unpleasant contention that took place in that year will be narrated before concluding. But exclusive of that, we know of two other serious cases of litigation between the German monks of *St. Aegidius* and the *Scoti* of Ratisbon in the interval between 1418 and 1460. The first case was referred for settlement to the Council of Basel; the second to the Roman Curia. Both incidents are indications of the persistence of acrimonious feelings up to a date shortly preceding the composition of the *Chronicle*.

Four years before the date (1460) to which we assigned

[1] *Hartmanni Schedelii Chronicon Monast. S. Egidii Norimbergen.* Oefele, *Script. Rer. Boic.* I., 349.

[2] *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, Bd. III, "Sigmund Meisterlins Chronik der Reichstadt Nürnberg, 1488," Kap. iv., p. 91. Latin text of the same in Bd. III, p. 209. Conrad Herdegen's *Chronicle of Nuremberg* is also a secondary source.

its composition, Abbot Georius Möringer appealed to Rome against Abbot Thaddeus of Ratisbon, accusing him of detaining certain charters and privileges of importance to *St. Aegidius*. And on March 3, 1456, Pope Calixtus III issued a mandate[1] to the Abbot of Reichenbach to compel Abbot Thaddeus under pain of excommunication to restore to *St. Aegidius* such documents as were mentioned in the complaint of Abbot Georius.

This document of Calixtus III not only records the fact of contentious proceedings between the German monks of *St. Aegidius* and the Irish of *St. James*, Ratisbon; but it brings with it a suggestion of a sense of insecurity still felt by the German monks of *St. Aegidius*. Must we not, therefore, allow for the possibility that this contention was somewhat responsible for the vigorous tone of denunciation that pervades the *Chronicle*? Would it not be to the advantage of the actual occupants of the monastery to show that its former occupants had, on moral and spiritual grounds, lost all title to it? This possibility, however, would not in itself destroy our confidence in the document, if it is not known to have otherwise distorted or suppressed any facts of importance. It will merely suggest caution in accepting its data.

It is a point to be remembered then that three or four years before the composition of the *Chronicle* there was still litigation between the German monks of Nuremberg and the Irish monks of Ratisbon, and that the *Chronicle* is silent about it.

The *Chronicle* is also silent on another more serious case of litigation with the Abbot of St. James, Ratisbon. The Council of Basel, as is well known, served as a sort of appeal court in disputes of every kind, and to it Abbot Cormac of Ratisbon appealed to obtain redress for the invasion of his rights in the monastery of St. Aegidius.

[1] Cf. "Beitrage zur Geschichte der Schottenabtei St. Jacob," etc. *in Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benedictiner und dem Cistercienser-Orden*, 1897, Heft I., 80. From original in *Stadtarchiv*, Nuremberg.

We possess two documents relating to this case. One is a deed of June 4, 1434, by which the City Council of Nuremberg appointed a certain Ulrich Truchsess as its procurator before the court to which it was summoned at Basel to answer for its interference with the property and rights of the monastery of St. Aegidius in the year 1418.[1] The second[2] and more important is the decision of the court that tried the case. From this we learn :--

(1) That the case was opened at the instance of Abbot Cormac of Ratisbon.

(2) That the Council first appointed Archbishop Martin of Corfu to hear the case. He opened the hearing, but for some reason did not finish it. Ludovicus, Patriarch of Aquileia, was then commissioned to resume the hearing at the point where it had been discontinued.

(3) The sworn statement of Abbot Cormac conveys the information that he was despoiled of the monastery of St. Aegidius, of properties movable and immovable thereto belonging, including vessels of gold and silver ; the Abbot George Möringer, a monk of Reichenbach, was an intruder who deposed the legitimate Abbot Mauritius and had himself elected with the aid and connivance of the consuls and proconsuls of the city of Nuremberg ; both these parties had also been guilty of seizing certain books and documents, evidences of privileges papal and imperial.

(4) Abbot Cormac maintained that the monastery in question was founded for *Scoti* and for no others. It was the immemorial right of the abbots of Ratisbon to visit and correct it canonically. He had the right to summon its abbot to Ratisbon to answer for its administration. He had also the right to be present at the elections of its abbots, and such elections held without his presence and consent were null and invalid.

(5) The counter petition presented jointly by Abbot Heinrich of St. Aegidius and the consuls and proconsuls of Nuremberg requested the Most Reverend Patriarch to declare finally that the molestation attempted by Abbot Cormac was temerarious, undue, illicit, etc.

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[1] Nuremberg, *Stadtarchiv*, Rep. 89, no. 77.

[2] Munich, *Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Fasc. 4, no. 29a.

(6) Finally the Patriarch declared that the molestations of Abbot Cormac were illicit, undue, etc., and the monastery was set free from any interference on the part of the abbots of Ratisbon. This decision was rendered on Monday, Aug. 9, 1434, in the Patriarch's house in Basel.

No further attempts were made by the *Scoti* to recover *St. Aegidius*. But the trouble and expense and annoyance involved in this trial cannot be considered to have bettered the dispositions of the German monks or of the aldermen of Nuremberg towards the *Scoti*. The *Chronicle* for some reason ignored the trial completely. Neither does it anywhere mention, much less acknowledge, those prerogatives of the abbots of Ratisbon which Abbot Cormac maintained were in force from time immemorial. That these rights existed is clear from the earlier history of the monastery.

When we come, then, to give an estimate of the historical value of the *Chronicle*, particularly when we are to invoke its testimony regarding the *Scoti*, we must bear in mind that it was written by a representative of those who inherited the possessions of the *Scoti*. Between these two parties there had been litigation not only in 1418, when the *Scoti* are known to have created considerable trouble for their German successors, but also in 1434 at Basel, and again in 1456 at Rome. Failure to mention the latter two on the part of the *Chronicle* brings with it the suggestion of a studied silence. When it is examined in the light of other sources, which will be done in a further article, faith in its historical value will be more severely shaken.

PATRICK J. BARRY

THE MESSAGE OF CHARLES GIDE

1847—1932

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

IT may well happen that some future historian will write down Charles Gide as one of the half-dozen great constructive economic thinkers of the first 150 years of the science. Indeed, if he joins this name to those of Adam Smith, Karl Marx and Heinrich Pesch, he will find it hard to add two others of equal constructive achievement. None of the four was a very original thinker, nor yet very acute or exact in his analysis of technical problems. But all four were very shrewd and careful observers, very human in their sympathies and interests, passionately desirous to see justice and happiness reign in this world. And all four have exercised by their teaching a profound influence on the thought and action of large bodies of men and women, and have initiated or inspired social movements and economic policies, organisations and institutions of considerable magnitude. This is clearly less true of Pesch than of the others; but it may be that his final influence, both in extent and in fertility, will prove equal to or even greater than theirs. They are a bizarre foursome: the Scotch professor of Moral Philosophy, conscientious, religious, laying down the lines on which the infant Industrial Revolution should proceed in order to multiply the wealth of nations; the German Jew striving to build up a whole new social and economic philosophy which might undo the disastrous effects, the human suffering and social injustice which seventy years of fidelity to the Scotchman's teaching had produced; the quiet, cultured French Huguenot Protestant and the industrious painstaking German Jesuit labouring, each in his own way, towards the same end: to find some *via media*, a

theoretical system and a practical programme, which might bring peace and harmony where the application and clash of the doctrines of the two former had brought confusion and conflict.

I

Charles Gide died at Passy last March at the age of 85. He was born in 1847 at Uzès, a little Languedocian town placed on the eastern slopes of the Cevennes just north of Nîmes. His family was an old Huguenot one, and Gide was brought up in an atmosphere calculated to make him a good religious Protestant. To the end of his life he remained steadfastly loyal to his early training, and Christianity meant a great deal to him both as a private individual and in his work as an economist. He was educated at Uzès, where his father was President of the Tribunal, and took his university degree in Law at Paris. In 1875 he began his career as Professor in the Faculty of Law at Bordeaux, where he lectured on Political Economy. In 1877 he was officially appointed Professor of Political Economy, being one of the first sixteen professors nominated when Political Economy received in that year its official recognition by the State as a science. Later on he left Bordeaux to take the chair of Political Economy at Montpellier, and finally went to Paris as Professor of Social Economics at the Sorbonne, where he remained until 1921. Owing to a singular petty and mean opposition in certain circles, which he had to encounter all his life, his candidature for the Institut was rejected. On this account the co-operative movement in France founded a chair at the Collège de France specially for him. In this honourable position he spent the last years of his life from 1922 to 1930, delivering thirteen courses of lectures on various matters connected with co-operation.

Gide himself has left us an interesting account of the beginnings of Political Economy in France as a scientific

academic subject. Up to 1877 this subject was the monopoly of a small band of statesmen, financiers, merchants and journalists, a sort of "club" or "school" having its centre in the Society of Political Economy and its organ in the *Journal des Economistes*. Economics was their preserve, a domain for gentlemen, inheritors of the traditions of the Physiocrats and the Classical School. They did not want to teach economics nor to let others teach it: it could not be taught, they held, but could only be learned "dans la vie des nations." Above all, they did not want the State to have anything to say to its teaching: the less the State knew about or meddled in economic matters the better for everyone. They, "the economists," would give advice when they thought it needed: nobody else could give advice, because nobody else knew anything about economics. But the State insisted on introducing into the official university programme the subject of Political Economy. Worse still, the only people eligible to teach in the Faculties of Law were *agrégés* of Law, the very people who knew nothing (according to the "economists") about economics and who, if they did, would certainly ruin everything by being too favourable to State intervention and legislation in economic matters. Gide was appointed to Bordeaux where he was already teaching, and among the other new professors were Jourdan, Villey, Rambaud, and (at the Institut Catholique) Claudio Jannet.

The new professors at once set about producing textbooks for their students: the first real economic textbooks France had seen. Cauwès published his *Cours* in 1878, which was met with a storm of criticism from the "economists" on account of its attitude to free trade. Rambaud's and Jourdan's books followed in 1879 and 1880; Villey's *Traité d'économie politique* appeared in 1880 also; and finally Gide's *Principes* in 1884, when he had already been appointed to Montpellier. In his own words it was "beaucoup plus héré-

tique que celui de Cauwès sur les questions de la propriété privée et du salariat;" but it received a less hostile reception on account of its acknowledgment of "un ordre naturel et d'une solidarité internationale." This book, with the two volume *Cours* issued later, remains to-day easily the best introduction to the study of Political Economy. It has been issued in France in twenty-six editions, the latest in 1931, and has been translated into eighteen languages. The *Cours*, a rather fuller and deeper work, has had a similar success, reaching its tenth edition in 1929, and being frequently translated. Gide, as seen in these text-books, was a born teacher. A gift of clear and orderly exposition, an impartiality and objectivity rarely found, a charming style combined with a knack of apt and happy illustration, a thorough grasp of the technical problems and an ability to analyse and explain them, and a seemingly encyclopaedic knowledge of his subject and its literature—all these qualities will keep his books popular with student-beginners as well as with the average layman.

The third important work which Gide produced was the *Histoire des Doctrines Economiques*, which was written in collaboration with his close friend and colleague, Charles Rist. This, too, has proved to be a little masterpiece, and is unlikely to be surpassed for many a day. So fair was Gide in all his writings meant for students that it is almost impossible to tell what particular school claimed his allegiance. One cannot but admire the cool, judicial manner in which he exposes the doctrines of the various writers, sums up the pros and cons, and then lets the student or the reader make up his own mind. In 1922 he published a little manual in a series of "Outlines," *Premières Notions d'Economie Politique*. He was appointed President of the French Committee responsible for the production of the Economic and Social History of the World War (Carnegie Peace Foundation), and in this position compiled and issued in 1931 a large volume,

Le Bilan de la Guerre pour la France, in collaboration with Professor Oualid—followed by a smaller one, *De la Lutte contre la Cherté*.

That is practically Gide's whole published work in book-form, if we confine ourselves to Gide the economist. But of equal importance to his work as an author, is his activity as editor and journalist. In 1887 he founded the *Revue d'Economie politique* and remained its editor-in-chief till his death. He wanted to give the rising generation of university-trained economists an independent and, if possible, international organ, which might keep the French professors and students in touch with one another and with the movements and thought of other countries. The programme of the *Revue* was characteristic of Gide: "Celle-ci ne sera l'organe ni d'une personalité ni d'une école. Elle sera ouverte librement à toutes les doctrines. Nous espérons que le rapprochement des doctrines adverses pourra être fécond." Rist tells us of the generosity and courtesy which he showed to the writers of the French Liberal School, who boycotted him all his life and passed him over in a veritable conspiracy of silence. His articles, reviews and chronicles in the pages of his *Revue* exercised, for forty-six years, a profound influence on the development and, above all, on the teaching of Political Economy in France. He wanted the best thought of the world to find its way into French Universities, and laboured constantly to find and stress whatever words of truth he could discover in the writings of others. The best short exposition of the doctrine of the Catholic Union of Fribourg appeared over his name in a Protestant review, accompanied (it must be admitted) by the shrewdest and most critical analysis of its shortcomings—but done, as ever, with grace and delicacy.

Gide was not a great economist. His name is not associated with the brilliant analysis and solution of technical problems, nor with any new theory or doctrine.

In future economic text-books the names of Cournot, List, Bohm-Bawerk, Walras and others, will have to be mentioned; but Gide's name, in all probability, will not appear. By nature and by deliberate training he was critically eclectic, seeking to synthesise and construct with the best material he could find. Some years ago he wrote, as a preface to the edition of his *Principes* (which completed the 100,000 figure),[1] what he called *Mon Testament d'Economiste.* "Nous ne sommes même pas de ceux qui dénient à l'Economie politique le droit de se constituer à l'état d'Economie pure, en tant que science mathématique de l'échange ou science psychologique de l'utilité; . . . . mais nous réclamons aussi le droit à l'existence et à l'autonomie d'une Economie politique où la justice aura sa place à côté et au-dessus de l'utilité. . . . Toujours est-il que la pénétration de la morale dans la science economique a marqué ce que j'ai appelé 'un grand dégel.' La science économique y a perdu ses belles formes cristallines, et même il en est resulté quelque débâcle, mais c'est celle du printemps: elle a été vivifiante." That expresses as well as could be done the achievement of Charles Gide as an economist.

II

Gide's activity as professor, editor of the *Revue*, journalist and author of text-books was relatively an insignificant part of his life. His true life's work lay elsewhere—lay in what was a veritable vocation, a mission. No other titles appear more frequently in the hundreds of notices that appeared in papers and periodicals after his death than those of "apostle" and "prophet." And when we have studied his life, we must admit that they are more than usually apt in their application to him. He believed that he had found a gospel, a message, a solution of social problems, and that it was the only true solution there was. It was not his own, he found it

[1] Another 100,000 copies have appeared in translations.

already in the world; but he took it and gave it, by means of his technical knowledge as an economist, a systematic, scientific form. Then he devoted all his energies and all his skill and time and heart to preaching his gospel, to propagating his faith. He was that rare thing, a prophet who was not a fanatic, a reformer who was not a "crank," and probably as a consequence he achieved amazingly successful results before he died. Still more, not only did he see the movement to which he had devoted his life firmly established as a practical working system in almost every country in the world; but he trained and inspired a band of enthusiastic and brilliant disciples to develop the speculative side of his doctrine.

In the course of his studies and lectures as professor Gide had to deal with the question of co-operation and the various types of co-operative societies. But, as one of his friends puts it, he was really a comparatively late and slow convert, before he became an apostle. In 1886 he was asked by a M. de Boyve of Nîmes to give a lecture on Paraguay to the *Société d'Economie populaire* of that town. M. de Boyve's mother was an English lady acquainted with the leaders of the co-operative movement in England, such as Vansittart Neale and Holyoake, and her son had set himself the task of forming in France a Co-operative Union similar to that of England. Gide gave his lecture and went home; but de Boyve, having planted his seed, proceeded to water it by inducing Gide to preside at the second Congress of consumers' co-operative societies held at Lyons. In 1887 a third Congress was held at Tours, at which Gide was also present, and, as he himself rather cynically tells us, being mistaken for Nicholas Balline enjoyed "un succès d'enthousiasme que depuis il ne devait jamais retrouver." In 1888, after two years of thought and study, he delivered a second conference developing his Lyons presidential address. And finally in 1889, as president of the first

International Congress of Co-operation at Paris, he delivered to the delegates his fully elaborated doctrinal system, the thesis or synthesis which he had been slowly working out and which is known all over the world to-day. For the rest of his life, a matter of some forty-four years, he was the undisputed leader of the consumers' co-operative movement—at least so far as questions of doctrine, theory and propaganda are concerned. In 1900 he published a volume of "conférences" which he had delivered between 1885 and 1900, *La Coopération: Conférences de Propagande*. This "bible of co-operators" is now in its fifth edition (1929). Four years later his *Sociétés Coopératives de Consommation* appeared, now in its fourth edition (1924). The last eight years of his life, as has been said, were spent as professor at the Collège de France, and the eight *Cours* which he delivered there form his final, most mature and most profound study of co-operation. There is one other work of Gide (apart, of course, from his innumerable articles in various periodicals) which deserves mention. It is his *Institutions de Progrès Social*, considered by some to be his best work. It was an Introduction to an official report on the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900. It appeared first in 1902 and is now in its fifth edition. It does not deal explicitly with co-operation, but gives a sort of metaphysic of social economics, which, in its kind, is still unsurpassed.

In 1890 a little book was published at Geneva entitled *Quatre écoles d'économie sociale*. It contained four lectures delivered the previous year at a conference in Geneva by F. Passy, J. Stiegler, Claudio Jannet, and Charles Gide. In his lecture Gide christened the four schools: *Ecole de la Liberté* [Classical School], *Ecole de l'Egalité* [Socialist School], *Ecole de l'Autorité* [Catholic School], and his own ("*l'école nouvelle*") *Ecole de la Solidaritê*." It was on the idea of solidarity that he based his whole system, and hence it is sometimes spoken of as "co-operative solidarism" as distinct from the

" corporative-vocational solidarism " of Pesch. At the time Gide was working out his system the word and idea " *solidarité* " were in the air in philosophical circles in France. It was beginning to be realised, with a certain naïve astonishment, that human society was a network of interdependence, each man and each family bound to the others by a multitude of ties. This was the fact, " *la solidarité de fait*," as Léon Bourgeois called it. This solidarity, it was seen, made society possible and brought untold advantages to each individual. But these advantages, these benefits were by no means equally distributed among the individual members. Further, the very fact of this social solidarity brought with it for every individual a responsibility, a set of duties, " *la solidarité-devoir*." It could happen that those who gained most from the " solidarité-fait " might manage to shirk the fulfilment of their " solidarité-devoir "—might be able to shift their share or part of their share of the social burden on to the shoulders of someone else. Bourgeois realised, as the modern Catholic Vienna School realises to-day, that the whole juridical system of modern society practically ignores this fact of solidarity. The laws are individualistic, concerned almost exclusively with the defence of the individual and his liberty, and paying little regard to the individual's duties to the community. Bourgeois' aim was " la réalisation légale de la solidarité-devoir," " une transposition dans le domaine du droit de la solidarité de fait." He believed that the solution of the social question in its widest sense could be achieved, at least in great part, by a changed orientation of the juridical, the legal system.

Gide, on the contrary, was not a believer in the power of laws to change the evil results of human selfishness. Nor did he see any particular reason for waiting on legal reforms. It was in the power of the people themselves to make the natural solidarity of human society the basis of a consciously willed and sought for economic and moral

solidarity. Gide was deeply convinced that human society could not become what it should be, unless individual men and women by their own free will deliberately and intelligently strove to make it what it should be. He was certain of the existence of economic laws—" lois, au sens d'enchaînement des faits, supérieures aux volontés individuelles ; " but he was equally certain that these laws would not by themselves and automatically produce social justice and harmony. More, he was certain that no intervention of the State could ever so regulate the action of these laws as to force them willy-nilly to produce a perfect human society. It was a matter of individual conscience, responsibility and effort. Finally, he held it as certain that, given the good-will, nothing could stop the ordinary people from peacefully revolutionising the whole present system : he did not want positive help from the State (though such could and should be given), all he asked was the absence of deliberate opposition. " L'école coopératiste s'apparente mieux encore à l'école libérale économique en ce sens qu'elle a foi dans la liberté et qu'elle ne veut arriver à ses fins que par l'association libre, par l'accord des bonnes volontés. Elle souhaite aussi le minimum de réglementation, elle fait sienne le mot de Fourier que j'ai souvent cité : ' Tout ce qui se fait par contrainte dénote un manque de genie.' " In the present system he found three features that he held evil, and all three came from the application of the doctrines of the Classical School : (i) Competition in sense of a struggle for life, (ii) absence of a " just price," (iii) profit. To get rid of these three was his aim. But they would not be got rid of by any Marxian socialism, or if got rid of, would only give place to worse evils. " Les héros révolutionnaires marxistes croient obéir à une poussée, à une évolution qui les domine "—and no one can tell what sufferings and tortures this blind evolution has in store for man—but " dans le coopératisme ce sont, au contraire, ces bonnes volontés qui font et dirigent

l'évolution." And again: "La coopération est au fond individualiste, car elle suppose l'action continuelle, incessante, d'initiatives individuelles ayant un but devant les yeux et y marchant avec une volonté obstinée."

What is original in Gide's system, and what he believed to be absolutely essential to success was the central position of the consumer. It was this that made his school of economy a "new school." His doctrine, as one of his best-known disciples says, is "la doctrine coopérative des consommateurs . . . . faite d'idées essentiellement nouvelles"—ideas, be it said, that Mrs. Sydney Webb (then Miss Potter) was working out in England almost at the same time as Gide in France. "La consommation," wrote Gide in his *Cours*, "c'est le but et la production n'est que le moyen. Logiquement, aussi bien que pratiquement, c'est le consommateur qui fait les commandes." And from this as a starting point he planned out his three stages by which the economic and social order was to be transformed. First there was to be a conquest of "*industrie commerciale*." The consumers were to be made vividly conscious of their power—consumers as such, be it noted, not merely middle-class consumers or working-class consumers, but every consumer: and made conscious of their power precisely as consumers, not as anything else. This "formality" of consumer was to be the bond of union and the source of strength. The "conquest of commerce" was to be achieved by the creation of small consumers' co-operative societies, the grouping of these small societies into one large association, and the employment of the greatest possible portion of their gains in setting up large wholesale businesses covering every branch of goods. Such co-operative wholesale shops or societies would be able to eliminate eventually any need for the private type: indeed, the private wholesale dealer would be unable to exist—the economic laws which had called him into being and enriched him would now destroy him.

The second stage was to be the conquest of the "*industrie manufacturière.*" The profits and reserves of the big wholesale societies would be devoted to setting up manufacturing industries to supply directly the particular types of goods the wholesale shops needed. The individual consumer in his own little society would call for the type and quantity of production he needed: there would be an intelligent control of production, the great desideratum in the world to-day.

The third and final stage would be for the union of the wholesale shops and their factories to achieve by their resources the conquest of the "*industrie agricole.*" They would acquire land, mines, forests, and would have control of the production of their own raw material. Needless to say the financing of all this would be in the hands of co-operative banks, which would exploit the credit of the societies for the good of the societies. Gide was not frightened by any bogey-man, like the Bank of England, or international finance, controlling or creating credit. Being an economist he knew how these things function, and knew that any power banks have is given to them freely by the people who freely deposit their money in them. The same power could be given by the same people to a co-operative bank, and there need be no intervention of the State or any "nationalisation of credit." All that was required was faith and loyalty and common sense on the part of the consumers. But to get that Gide knew that years of evangelisation and education would be required.

When his ideal should be achieved, then Gide believed that a completely new economic and social system must appear.[1] Production would then be and have to remain the servant of consumption. Human needs and their satisfaction, not the rentability of capital, would be the controlling factor in production. Over-production

[1] It is necessary to distinguish clearly Gide's doctrine from that of some of his successors of socialistic leanings.

(relative, that is), crises, unemployment must disappear. Middle-men, especially in the region of commerce, would cease to exist: at present they are a necessary evil, necessary parasites because the organism is in a diseased state. Once let the organism become healthy and the parasites will die a natural death. Profit, too, will go and with it will vanish the great obstacle to the establishment of the "just price." As an immediate result Capital must slip down into its proper place in the organic structure and must remain there—the servant of Labour, no longer the master. Competition in the sense of *liberté de travail* would remain in Gide's ideal society, because "la liberté vaut le prix dont on la paie." But competition in the sense of "*la lutte pour la vie*" arising from a clash of vital interests would disappear. Finally, private property remains sacrosanct;—only Gide wanted two changes, both admirable: first, that it should be easier for everyone to acquire some property; second, that the institution of "co-propriété"—of property consciously held not precisely as an individual but as a member of a group, as a social being—should be greatly extended.

But more important, Ireland is ripe for a new campaign in favour of co-operation along the lines of Gide's system. Not that we believe his system to be a complete solution of the "social question." But it is certainly a big advance in the right direction. Co-operation has never had a fair chance in Ireland. From Gide's point of view it had to prove sterile, for it started at the wrong end. But with the shaking up of the whole economic system which is going on at present, an opportunity has been given to start afresh. "Nous espérons," wrote Gide years ago, "que sous le régime coopératif généralisé il n'y aura plus de lions ni de chacals, mais seulement des hommes, qui chercheront à s'aider entre eux et à réaliser cette devise que les raffinés trouvent naive, même un peu ridicule—*Chacun pour tous, tous pour chacun.*"

E. J. Coyne

SIR BERTRAM WINDLE

BY JOHN J. HORGAN

THE work of Sir Bertram Windle for Ireland, and more particularly for the National University, justifies something more than a cursory review of his recently published biography[1] and of his career. Bertram Coghill Alan Windle was born on May 8, 1858, at Mayfield Vicarage, Staffordshire. His father, the Reverend Samuel Allen Windle, was a Church of England clergyman whose family came from Shropshire; his mother, Sydney Katherine Coghill, daughter of Admiral Sir Josiah Coghill by his second wife, Anna Maria Bushe, was of Anglo-Irish descent. The founder of her family was a German soldier of fortune, one Colonel Tobias Cramer, who served James the First in Ireland, where he finally settled; and one of her ancestors was Ambrose Cramer, Mayor of Cork in the year 1724. On her mother's side she was a grand-daughter of Charles Kendal Bushe, a member of the Irish House of Commons and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. Bushe voted consistently against the Union, and, although he was a relatively poor man, in Sir John Barrington's famous "Red List" there appears after his name the word "incorruptible." Only one other member of the House was thus described. Windle's family had other connections with the County Cork, as the Coghill and Somerville families of Castletownshend are descended from the brother and sister of his mother, and her uncle, the Revd. Charles Bushe, who married a daughter of Sir Josiah Coghill by his first wife, was rector of Castlehaven. His son, Seymour Bushe, K.C., will still be remembered as one of the most brilliant members of the Munster Bar thirty years ago.

[1] *Sir Bertram Windle* by Monica Taylor, S.N.D., D.Sc. (Longmans, 12s. 6d.).

When, therefore, Windle came to Cork as President of the Queen's College he was, in one sense at all events, returning to the home of his ancestors, and, as will be noted later, this return undoubtedly affected his attitude towards many things.

Windle's early education was received at Repton, a school chosen no doubt because of its evangelical atmosphere, where he made a somewhat reluctant acquaintance with the classics. In November 1875 he entered Trinity College, and here his natural talent for English literature and science quickly developed. His early years under the control of his father, who was strictly evangelical and severe, left an impress on his mentality never wholly eradicated. "How I loathe Calvinism," he was to write long afterwards, "and with good reason, for it did me an injury from which I shall never quite recover in this world—namely, making me think of God as a policeman instead of a tender Father." And it undoubtedly was responsible also for that tyranny of scrupulosity which he once described as his bane after he entered the Church. At Trinity this extreme Protestant upbringing caused him to join the Orange Order. A natural revulsion from his father's views led him however, before he left Trinity, to a condition of complete agnosticism. His academic career was brilliant. He was Senior Moderator in Natural Science, and a year later, in 1882, he took first place in his M.B. examination. After qualifying he was appointed demonstrator in anatomy and histology at the Irish College of Surgeons, and, in the September of 1882, Pathologist at the General Hospital in Birmingham.

In this city Windle was destined to spend twenty years of his active career. He soon became Professor of Anatomy in its Medical School, at that time affiliated to Queen's College, an Anglican theological seminary. Shortly afterwards he started a movement which resulted in the transfer of the Medical School to the undenomi-

national Mason College, where he became Dean of the Medical Faculty. Here again, assisted by the great influence and public spirit of Joseph Chamberlain, his organising and agitating ability was the mainspring in procuring the transformation of that college into the University of Birmingham. Previous to this, in the year 1883, shortly after his arrival in Birmingham, his mind was once more providentially turned towards religion, and after much investigation, reading, and no little personal sacrifice, he was received into the Catholic Church, of which he was eventually destined to become one of the leading and most effective English-speaking apologists of his day. The initial impulse for what, having regard to his antecedents and upbringing, may well be described as an extraordinary change, seems to have escaped his biographer. Windle himself often described how, finding himself the only agnostic house doctor in the Birmingham Hospital, he had invariably to spend his Sunday mornings on duty whilst his more pious colleagues were attending to their religious duties. Finally, in despair and with a determination not to renew his acquaintance with Protestantism in any shape, he decided to attend a Catholic service, and so found himself through this very mundane reason attending Mass in St. Chad's Catholic cathedral, where the Gregorian music and the preaching alike interested him. A sermon on the Immaculate Conception led him to inquire more closely into the truths of Catholicism, and, after a critical examination of its claims, his complete acceptance of the Faith followed. In 1886 he married Madoline, daughter of W. Hudson, of Birmingham, who was also shortly afterwards received into the Church.

During this period Windle began to write, and published a number of books on medical and topographical subjects. Amongst these may be mentioned: *The Proportions of the Human Body* (1892); *Life in Early Britain* (1897); *Shakespeare's Country* (1899); *The Malvern*

Country (1900); *The Wessex of Thomas Hardy* (1901); *Chester* (1903); *The Prehistoric Age* (1904); and *A School History of Warwickshire* (1906). These books were the fruit of his medical teaching and of his historical and literary studies. His book on Hardy's country, written with the great novelist's approval and advice, remains the leading guide to its literary geography and a lasting memorial of Windle's rambles for many summers in Dorsetshire. His closing years in Birmingham were sadly darkened by the death of his wife and two infant sons. Two daughters were also born during the Birmingham years, the elder of whom predeceased him. In 1901 he married secondly Edith Mary Nazer, a relative of his first wife, who remained his devoted companion to the end.

Windle's association with the Catholic life of Birmingham, in which he played an active part as a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and otherwise, naturally brought him into touch with the Irish exiles in that city, and he became a supporter of various Nationalist organisations as well as keenly interested in the future of Ireland. He was soon a popular speaker on Liberal platforms in support of the Irish cause, and his knowledge of Irish history, combined with his gift of presenting clearly and concisely the issues at stake, was used to good purpose. It was during this period (in April 1888) that, just as he was about to lecture his medical students on the Irish question, he learnt that the Pope had condemned boycotting as contrary to charity and justice. Without hesitation Windle went on to the platform, and, after reminding his audience that he had defended boycotting as a powerful political weapon, proceeded to say that as a loyal Catholic, having heard of the Pope's condemnation, he now withdrew his previous opinions and would not proceed with his lecture—a dramatic statement which his audience received with loud applause. He had also during these years begun to take an interest in the wider

aspects of education, having in the Catholic interests served on the Birmingham School Board and also as a member of the Consultative Committee of the English Board of Education. These various activities naturally placed him in a foremost position amongst English Catholic educationalists, and this, together with his Irish sympathies, led Mr. George Wyndham, the Unionist but sympathetic Chief Secretary for Ireland, to offer him in 1904 the position of President of Queen's College, Cork.

It was characteristic of Windle that, before accepting, he crossed to Cork to investigate personally, and almost anonymously, the situation. It was indeed by no means a bed of roses, and Windle was under no illusions as to the difficulty of the task he was undertaking. At that time Queen's College, Cork, was little more than an excellent medical school, which manufactured doctors for export. It had little or no interest in or connection with the life of the country or the community amongst which it was situated, and it was tolerated rather than approved by the Church. Outside the football field its students had hardly any opportunity for social intercourse. In addition to all this it was poorly endowed, and was neglected both by the Government of the day and, with the exception of one great President (William K. Sullivan), by those more directly responsible for its management. It is a tribute to the loyalty and *esprit de corps* of its graduates, rather than to the virtues of the institution itself, that the Queen's College of those days is still remembered with pride and affection by its alumni. Such a situation offered to Windle a field for difficult but congenial work, which he did not hesitate to tackle boldly. From the very first both students and professors realised that the scene had changed. Queen's College had at last an effective head--someone who, unlike his predecessors, was both seen and heard. No detail of the College life was too small to escape his notice, no student

too humble to be received in the presidential study. A new social life began in the President's house, in which both professors, citizens, and students, participated, and which established contacts with the civic life of Cork that brought " town and gown " into normal and friendly intercourse. The appearance and voice of the new President became familiar at most Cork civic gatherings and on many public platforms throughout the country.

Very soon new projects for the development of the College were successfully launched. With the warm support and financial assistance of old students from all over the world, a Students' Club, which had long been a crying necessity, was created, new faculties were inaugurated, new lecturers were appointed, and money for additional buildings was squeezed from the reluctant Treasury. In 1908, after much agitation and anxious negotiation, in which Windle took part as one of the chief advisers of the Government, the Irish leaders, and the Catholic Hierarchy, the University Act was passed which enabled the College, in its new guise as a constituent college of the National University, to take its proper place in the national life. As one of the special commission appointed to prepare the statutes and regulations, Windle, with the great experience he had already acquired in Birmingham, was able to play a prominent and important part in laying the foundations of the new university.

But Windle's activities during these years were by no means confined to Cork. As a member of the General Council of Medical Education, Senator of the National University, Commissioner of Intermediate Education, and President of the Irish Technical Education Association, his active interest in general education was of great assistance to the country, whilst as President of such bodies as the Cork Literary and Scientific Society and the Irish Industrial Conference of 1906—which at his suggestion inaugurated the valuable Irish National

Trade Mark—his practical experience and wide knowledge of affairs were freely given for the public good. At the same time he contributed to the prestige of the Cork College by holding the Chair of Archaeology, a subject in which he was always deeply interested. All this public work necessitated much travelling and frequent absence from Cork, but the development and interests of the College remained always his first and constant preoccupation. A new chemical and physical laboratory, a new biological laboratory, a new engineering school with most complete laboratories for testing materials, a reconditioned and reorganised medical school, and on the recreation side, large playing grounds remain as permanent monuments to his labours. Private benefaction was also enlisted in support of projects for which Government assistance could not be obtained, and, prominent amongst these gifts, were the Honan Hostel, the Honan Scholarships, and the Honan Chapel—which, with the assistance of Sir John R. O'Connell, Windle succeeded in securing for the College. The Honan Chapel—with its unique Celtic Romanesque building, its glorious stained glass (which includes some of the best work of that great Irish artist Harry Clarke), and its beautiful fittings—is a permanent reminder of his good taste and his desire to bring the life of the College into intimate and permanent touch with religious observance.

Previous to his arrival in Cork his services to science had been recognised by his appointment as a Fellow of the Royal Society, the blue ribbon of English scientific life. His services to the Church and education were honoured by the Pope in 1909 when he was made a Knight of St. Gregory the Great, an occasion when his friends in Cork seized the opportunity to show their appreciation of his work by presenting him with the insignia of that Order. Three years afterwards he received the additional honour of Knighthood from the King.

Having revived and reorganised the Cork College,

Windle was once more able to devote himself to literary work, and several important books appeared from his pen. Amongst them may be mentioned: *What is Life? A Study of Vitalism and Neo Vitalism* (1908), *The Romans in Britain* (1906), *A Century of Scientific Thought* (1915), and his most important work *The Church and Science* (1917), which was awarded the Gunning Prize by the Victoria Institute in 1919—the first time this distinction was ever awarded to a Catholic writer. One incident which occurred in 1913 is not without interest, because Windle's action on that occasion innocently deflected the course of Irish history. In the spring of that year the position of Professor of Mathematical Physics at University College became vacant, and Mr. Eamonn de Valera, then a teacher of mathematics at Blackrock College, became a candidate for the position. Backed by strong local support and excellent credentials, Mr. de Valera was elected to the position by the Governing Body of the Cork College; but Windle, who favoured Mr. Harper, a candidate with better academical qualifications, used his powerful influence with the University Senate and secured the appointment of Mr. Harper.

In 1917-18 Windle acted as a member of the Irish Convention summoned by Mr. Lloyd George, ostensibly to formulate an agreed scheme of Irish self-government, but really to placate American opinion and shelve the Irish question for the time being. He accepted the invitation to become a member of this assembly with enthusiasm, believing that a *modus vivendi* between North and South could be found, and he exerted all his influence in support of a reasonable settlement on the lines advocated by John Redmond, for whom he had a great regard. No one worked harder for this desirable end, and no one was more disappointed by the inconclusive result of its labours, which was made inevitable by Mr. George's refusal to implement its report unless the northern members were agreeable. Windle, in spite

of his youthful flirtation with extreme Nationalist doctrines in Birmingham, was by tradition and temperament in sympathy with the outlook of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy class. He was in fact by blood and breeding more English than Irish, and much of the worry and anxiety he suffered during these Irish years was due to that everlasting conflict between his English temperament, outlook, and training, and his Irish surroundings—a conflict which all those of similar antecedents and responsibilities experience. Dark Rosaleen had now become for him a painful reality, and his Anglo-Irish relatives, whom he now met frequently, did not share his Nationalist opinions. During the Convention he wrote of the Southern Unionists in a revealing passage: "These are the men who really appeal to me, and of course by birth and associations I belong to them and understand them. They are gentlemen, and you know that their word is their bond. I liked all of them, although I began with the greatest prejudice against Midleton, Jameson, and several others. Yet I was wrong. These men acted in a most patriotic spirit, and if all the rest had been like them the Convention would have been a great success." He deeply disagreed with the political attitude of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy at this time, and we find his old friend Father Michael Maher, S.J., then (March 1918) on his death bed, warning him in the following words of the dangerous position in which he was placing himself :—

> What you say about your own feelings and the pressure of the external situation pushing you into increasing hostility towards the action of the Bishops has been making me a little anxious. If you really felt serious danger of drifting into a line of action in opposition to that of the body of the Bishops, *that* would be the one thing that would lead me to agree with the view that it was wiser for you to return over here [to England]. I mean, of course, religious not merely political questions, though it is not often easy to separate them in Ireland. A "born" Catholic, receiving his religion and the whole collection of his traditional beliefs and

Catholic instincts by heredity, can sometimes live in opposition, or carry on a feud with ecclesiastical authorities for a time, and somehow keep his religion isolated from it. During the acute stage of the Parnell split some good Catholics were in that position, —but such a position is extremely difficult for a convert. It would be all but impossible for *you*. Temperamentally, you cannot easily, I fancy, localise a serious disagreement in part of your life and keep up warm friendly relations over the rest. The hostilities will spread. Now this is particularly so in the matter of religion. In your case it energizes throughout the whole of your life, and your happiness is bound up with its congenial working; consequently, if you get into any continuous conflict with ecclesiastical authority, not only would it seriously damage your spiritual life, but it would ruin your happiness.

This was indeed sound and necessary advice. But the difficulties of this time left a sting never completely removed, which found expression in later years when he wrote to a friend that, if one kept the Faith in Ireland, one could not lose it anywhere else. The failure of the Convention was a serious disappointment to his hopes, but worse was yet to come. Shortly after his arrival in Cork he had come to the conclusion that the special talents and interests of Munster justified the setting up of an independent university in Cork, and this view was strengthened again and again by subsequent events, particularly by what he conceived to be the hostile attitude of Dublin interests towards his schemes for the development of Cork. The desire for such a university had long smouldered in the South, and he had now little difficulty in fanning it into a flame. With the support of all the leading men of the province and backed by resolutions of its leading public bodies, a committee was formed in 1918 to further the project and bring it to fruition. Considerable progress was made, a draft bill was prepared, and the support of the Government was obtained; but, when success seemed almost certain, the General Election of 1919 and the preceding events in Ireland—which swept away the old Irish Party and

its policy of constitutional agitation at Westminster—completely altered the situation. The new Sinn Fein party refused to support a scheme which necessitated the passage of an Act of Parliament by the London parliament. The English Government reluctantly dropped a plan which no longer received general support. Sinn Fein was naturally only thinking in terms of political strategy, and Windle only in terms of educational progress. The two attitudes, unfortunately, were irreconcilable, and Munster lost a university. He had hoped to do for Cork what he had done for Birmingham, but the two cities were very different, and the local conditions even more so. Under a man like Windle such a scheme might well have been a success, but whether under different and changing circumstances the complete lack of central control which such a scheme entailed might not have resulted in a lowering of standards and efficiency at Cork is open to argument. At all events Windle's dream of a Munster University, which would have realised the proud motto of the Cork College, "Where Finbar taught let Munster learn," remains and is likely to remain unfulfilled. How bitterly Windle felt this opposition is revealed in a letter to his old Birmingham friend, John Humphreys, written on May 7, 1919: "I can hardly write, for the future is so black and uncertain. Desperate Sinn Fein opposition is on foot against the Munster University Scheme on the grounds—perfectly ridiculous—that nothing should be asked for from a British Parliament—which really means that the S. F., not being able to do anything themselves, don't want anybody else to be allowed to do anything. If I do *not* get the University this year, I think I must resign; at present I see nothing else for it. I can't go on for ever standing the strain of low intrigue and the constant stream of abuse directed at me, as at anyone in this country who tries to do anything for it."

Although Windle exaggerated both the abuse and the

intrigue to which he was subjected, there is no doubt that he experienced at this time, often at the hands of those whom he had helped considerably, strong opposition where he would naturally have expected support. Fortunately, almost at the same time, in May 1919, he was offered the position of Professor of Philosophy at Saint Michael's College, Toronto, the Catholic College of the University of Toronto, and, sadly disillusioned by his recent Cork experiences, he promptly accepted. His departure from Cork evoked a typically Southern expression of affection and regard from his numerous friends, who presented him with his portrait painted by Mr. Harry Scully, the Cork artist, which at his own request now hangs in the examination hall at University College, Cork, a permanent reminder of a great President.

But if his departure was a loss to Cork, it cannot be doubted that for him it was a happy and entirely justified release from a situation which for many reasons would have become increasingly difficult. There followed in Canada ten years of continuous and congenial work. There is no doubt that they were the happiest years of his life, and he often deplored that he had not come to Canada as a younger man. Entirely freed from the uncongenial organising and administrative work he had to do in Cork, he was able to devote all his time to his favourite work of lecturing and writing. He was appointed special lecturer in Ethnology in the University of Toronto, and for several years he delivered a series of post-graduate lectures on the races of the world, their customs and religions, to audiences which filled one of the largest halls in the University. In 1920 he was appointed Norton Memorial Lecturer to the American Anthropological Institute. During these years he lectured all over Canada and the United States, frequently speaking with great success on scientific subjects from the radio station of the Paulist Fathers in New York. He received several honorary degrees and distinctions

from American universities and public institutions, and there was much truth in the remark of a facetious mayor who, introducing him to a lecture audience, remarked that he had the three first letters of the alphabet before his name and all the rest after it. Interested always in the progress of academic life, he was an enthusiastic sponsor of the plan to establish at St. Michael's an Institute of Scholastic Philosophy in which the foremost authorities on the subject would lecture. Nor did he neglect to concern himself with the educational and cultural life of Canada—a field in which his advice and assistance were eagerly sought. He continued to write abundantly on Catholic, literary, archaeological and scientific subjects, particularly on evolution, and articles and reviews from his pen appeared frequently in the *Dublin Review*, *The Catholic World* and *The Commonweal*, an American Catholic review which he helped to found. He also published the following books : *Science and Morals* (1919) ; *Scholasticism and Vitalism* (1920) ; *On Miracles and Some Other Matters* (1924) ; *The Who's Who of the Oxford Movement* (1926) ; *The Catholic Church and Its Relations with Science* (1927), and finally one of his most interesting works : *Religions Past and Present*, published in 1928. During this year he suffered from the effects of a slight stroke of paralysis, which forced him to realise that in spite of his youthful and energetic spirit he had reached a goodly age. The end came quite suddenly. He was lecturing and writing articles only a few days before he died and looking forward to giving lectures in the United States. But pneumonia quickly developed from a cold, and on 14 February 1929 he died at Toronto, fortified with all the rites of the Church he had served so faithfully, and surrounded by devoted and loving friends. Amongst these was his medical attendant, an old student of his at Queen's College, Cork, Dr. Magner, whose goodness and care were unremitting. Only the week before he died he expressed the characteristic hope

that he might die in harness, a hope that was happily fulfilled.

No account of Windle would be complete without some reference to his personality. A university students' magazine, during his Birmingham days, once depicted him dressed in skins as a prehistoric man, grasping a stout club and a book on anatomy, and glancing fiercely before him, whilst underneath was written: "He fixed me with his glittering eye," a quotation which admirably suggested an aspect of his appearance with which his students were only too familiar. This fierceness of demeanour and abruptness of manner were in part due to a repression of his natural feelings, a relic of his Calvinistic upbringing, and in part to a reticence which was the protective covering of an ardent and affectionate nature—which, unfortunately, seldom escaped from this cloak of shyness and reserve. But at his best, and in congenial company, no one could be more pleasant and entertaining. In his private conversation and intimate letters he revealed a quaint sense of humour and a whimsical turn of phrase and idea, which, if not always charitable, was certainly vastly entertaining and spontaneous. His biographer gives several specimens of his letters, but these have obviously suffered severely from the blue pencil. Here are some characteristic gems: "Personally, I have long been convinced that hell is not paved, as is ordinarily believed, with good intentions, but with politicians;" and of nuns: "I suppose God should have His share of the good-looking girls;" "America is the most unfree place in the civilized world;" "As to the end of the world, if I were not a Catholic, being of the most pessimistic frame of mind naturally, I should believe, with Schopenhauer, that the best thing that could happen in the world would be the instantaneous and complete disappearance of the human race." This last quotation indicates correctly that Windle was a man who suffered from frequent fits of depression and

loneliness. These were worst during the Cork period of his career. He did not make friends easily and was not amongst those who suffer bores gladly. His geese were, at first, too often swans, but later, when their defects were discovered, they were apt to become birds of darker hue.

As an administrator Windle knew when and where to delegate, and he also had the happy gift of being able to inspire his friends and helpers with some of his own enthusiasm. He had no sympathy with slackness of any kind, but the culprit had to recognise that the industry Windle demanded he practised himself in superlative degree. But no one could be more helpful or painstaking in assisting those who deserved assistance, and many an old student of his owed his or her start in life to Windle's influence and advice, which were both invaluable. The amazing width of his intellectual sympathies led to a diffusiveness of work and interests which undoubtedly prevented him from reaching a leader's place in any department of learning; but his large and almost encyclopaedic knowledge of anatomy, anthropology, science, philosophy, and religion was combined with a simplicity of mind and intellectual humility which, at the very height of the attack upon revealed religion, caused him to take his stand with the most conservative form of spiritual authority. He was one of the first scientific writers to expose and discredit the popular fallacy that religion and science were irreconcilable. There can be little doubt that if he had remained a Protestant, or even an agnostic, the very highest positions in English academic and scientific life would have been open to him. These things he sacrificed for his religious convictions. He was a scholar of the old school, taking his major interests seriously, but curious about all things. Few of his books reveal the full flavour of his personality. His private letters were the best revelation of the man, and indicate what a lively autobiography he might have

written. He had one strange deficiency for such a cultured mind : for music he had neither taste nor liking.

As a scientist, if his place was not in the first rank, Windle will be remembered as an indefatigable worker and a splendid teacher. Few writers have explained so clearly the basic facts of science to the unscientific reader. His researches showed an observant and well-informed mind, but opened up no new avenues. He was content to remain a guide rather than an explorer, to map the country others had discovered. He had a real talent for journalism of the better kind, and he established the first university course for journalists at Cork University College. In writing his biography Sister Monica Taylor, his literary executor, has had a very difficult task, because she was acquainted with him only during the closing years of his life, and then almost entirely through correspondence. She has therefore had to rely, *faute de mieux*, upon his personal papers, the recollections of friends, and newspaper reports. She possesses, however, one important qualification for her task, namely, a whole-hearted admiration for her subject, which, if it sometimes makes her uncritical, has nevertheless obviously made her task a labour of love. But her anxiety to omit no aspect of his career has caused her to include a great deal of irrelevant detail, which cannot be of interest to the ordinary reader. The best portion of the book is that dealing with his life in Canada, where his own letters form the main portion of the narrative, and where his biographer, as a correspondent, was directly in touch with his activities. She has, however, exhausted practically every source of information, and gives us a necessary, painstaking, and interesting biography of a very remarkable man, whose services to his country and his religion should be long remembered with gratitude.

John J. Horgan

RENÉ BAZIN
1853—1932

By Mary Ryan, M.A.
Professor of Romance Languages, University College, Cork

WITH René Bazin a great French writer has passed from the world of letters.[1] As novelist, biographer, author of travel-books he ranks high among his contemporaries; while amongst those who were Catholics he stands in a place apart by his rarely spiritual and harmonious personality. His quality of soul stamped itself upon everything that he wrote, and gave unity to his work in all its variety and progressive development. The secret of this is his all-penetrating Catholic faith. "I have put my faith in my books," he wrote, "because it is truth, it is beauty, it is a remedy for everything."[2]

He was born at Angers on 26 December, 1853, and died in Paris on 20 July, 1932. He came of an old Angevin family, deeply rooted in the national and Catholic tradition. He studied at the Lycée of Angers and then at the Petit Séminaire, where the memory of his youthful promise still lives. As a boy he was delicate, and obliged to spend long periods in the country—where, as he tells us in a passage essential for the understanding of his work, he "learnt what cannot be taught, to see the indefinite world of external things and to listen to its life. . . Instead of classroom or playground walls for a horizon, I had the woods, the fields, the sky changing

[1] Bazin's most important works are the following:—*Stephanette*, 1884; *Ma tante Giron*, 1885; *Une tache d'encre*, 1888; *Les Noëllet*, 1890; *La Sarcelle bleue*, 1892; *Sicile, Madame Corentine*, 1893; *Humble Amour*, 1894. *Terre d'Espagne*, 1895; *De toute son âme, Contes de bonne Perrette*, 1897; *La Terre qui meurt*, 1898; *Croquis de France et d'Orient*, 1899; *Les Oberlé*, 1901; *L'Enseigne de vaisseau Paul Henry*, 1902; *Donatienne*, 1903; *L'Isolée*, 1905; *Questions littéraires et sociales*, 1906; *Vie du duc de Nemours, Le Blé qui lève*, 1907; *Mémoires d'une vieille fille*, 1908; *La Barrière*, 1910; *La Douce France*, 1911; *Davidée Birot*, 1912; *Gingolph l'abandonné*, 1914; *La Closerie de Champdolent*, 1917; *Les Nouveaux Oberlé*, 1919; *Charles de Foucauld*, 1921; *Il était quatre petits enfants*, 1922; *Baltus le Lorrain*, 1926; *Paysages et Pays d'Anjou*, 1926; *Le Roi des archers*, 1928; *Pie X*, 1929; *Magnificat*, 1931; *Un monastère de St. Pierre Fourier, Les Oiseaux*, 1932.

[2] I owe this and another note, and nearly all the details of Bazin's life of Catholic action, to his daughter Mademoiselle Germaine René-Bazin, to whom I am deeply indebted.

with every hour of the day, and the water of a little river that changed with the sky. For friends I had the mist, the sun, the twilight when fear creeps in one's shadow; the flowers, whose dynasties I knew better than those of the kings of Egypt; the birds, whose name is written in the motion of their flight; the countryfolk, silent and full of secrets . . . ."

He studied law and took his degree in Paris. But on the opening of the Catholic law-school in the Institut Catholique of Angers he became one of its first four students, and there prepared for his doctorate. He was called to the Bar at Angers, and accepted a professorship of law at the Institut. There he taught for years, long after he had begun to write. As a professor he was remarkable for his competence and conscientiousness, as well as for his direct and friendly interest in his pupils. From 1889 to 1903 he directed the Conférence St. Louis, which had been founded by his brother-in-law M. Hervé-Bazin (another outstanding Catholic) for the intellectual and moral formation of the students at Angers. Bazin would sometimes read his writings to them before publication, and used to invite leaders of Catholic thought to their annual general meetings. In 1903, his fame as a writer already established, Bazin was elected to the French Academy; and in 1904 he laid down his professorship.

Before speaking of him as a man of letters, we may add that in the midst of his abundant and uninterrupted production he contrived to do active Catholic work. During his long life, France had her share of the social and economic problems arising all over Europe: the decay of faith and tradition, the desertion of the land, new demands and standards in the world of labour, the national question, the sufferings and consequences of the war. But she also had her special problems: political demagogy and anti-clericalism, the Combist persecution, the banishment or severe restrictions on the liberty of religious orders, the widespread laicisation of schools and hospitals.

It was not only in his books—many of which were acts—that Bazin showed his intimate preoccupation with all these questions. In his country village he was a member of the municipal council from 1904 to his death. He took a keen interest in parish organisations, especially in the men's Catholic Club: lecturing to the members and interesting himself in their games. He was a member of the Association of Heads of Families in defence of the "free," that is, the religious schools. He personally organised retreats for working men—we see an echo of this in *Le Blé qui lève*—especially in 1907, 1909 and 1912, even bringing men to the retreat house and taking part in their meals and recreations. In Paris, at the height of his literary reputation, he was for eight years president of the *Publicistes chrétiens;* he helped to found the *Bureau Catholique de Presse* and the review *les Nouvelles Religieuses;* he was president for years of an Adoration group at Montmartre and of the *Union Parisienne des Institutrices libres de la Seine.* He was a member of the Committee for the defence of religion, spoke strongly against the laicisation of hospitals, gathered old people round him during the war. Quite the most notable occasion on which—to the extreme surprise of some of his colleagues—he bore outspoken and glorious testimony to his faith was in 1913, when he made a speech in the Academy at the annual distribution of prizes for social and civic service, the *prix de vertu.* He concluded in words which echoed not only through that assembly but through France: "These souls are different . . . . yet one . . . . In each of them I see the likeness, clear or dim, but recognisable, of the Master who brought charity down on earth, of the Friend of the poor, of the Consoler of the suffering, of Him Who went about doing good, and Whom, with millions of the living and thousands of millions of the dead, I have the joy of naming: Our Lord Jesus Christ."

"There is an exquisite virtue in the daily, human,

simple practice of faith," says André Chaumeix[1] of Bazin himself. That same charity, indeed, inspired all his social relations. Uprightness, gentleness, strength, courtesy to all of every class and rank, kindness to young writers, pity rather than condemnation for the ignorant and erring, intolerance only of hostility to Christ and His church—such are the characteristics recorded of him. His family life was ideal, and he gave two of his eight children to the direct service of God in religion.

Bazin's earliest publications were such as one might expect of a professor: prefaces to Joseph De Maistre's *Considérations sur la France* in 1880 and to Burke's *French Revolution* in 1882. But in 1880 he also published a narrative poem, and his first novel, *Stéphanette*, appeared in 1884. In the eighties, French literature was in a mood of reaction from the cynical cruelty of a Maupassant, from the excesses of the baser sort of realism represented by Zola's naturalism, from the deterministic philosophy to which Taine had lent his prestige. Bourget's *Essais de psychologie contemporaine* (1883-1885) and his *Disciple* (1889) express the reaction strongly. So does Loti's *Pêcheur d'Islande* (1885)—not Christian, but idealist. Verlaine and the Symbolists show the return to the spirit in poetry. Bazin, a Catholic and an idealist from the first, "had only to be himself," as André Chaumeix happily puts it, "in order to reveal his attachment to the tradition of the family, his interest in the inner life, his veneration for the great things in France." A born prose-writer, an artist in words, a landscape-painter with an understanding of the land and sensitive to its beauty; delicately, sympathetically, even humorously interested in humanity also, he found amply varied types of life in his immediate surroundings. He gave charming pictures of provincial life in his first novels, which attracted Ludovic Halévy and so secured him an entrance to the *Journal des Débats;* just as *La Sarcelle bleue* later brought

[1] Discourse at the Annual Public Meeting of the Five Academies, 25 Oct., 1932.

him into the *Revue des Deux Mondes* with Brunetière in 1892. But meantime Bazin had been progressing towards greater depth in his themes and greater power in his treatment. " His ideas gave vigour to his books," though " he never desired to put them forward dogmatically," to quote Chaumeix again. And it is true of Bazin's mature work to say with Louis Bertrand that he deals with " the highest problems of life and death."

Bazin wrote over fifty books in all. We can barely indicate a few of his prevailing interests.

In *Les Noëllet*, *La Terre qui meurt*, *Donatienne*, *Le Blé qui lève*, the fundamental theme is the dignity, the beauty, the importance of life on the land lived in accordance with traditional principles ; and the tragedies that result when landed proprietors, farmers, land-workers, forget these things and abandon the country ; when class antagonisms are fostered between those who ought to work together for the common good ; when the innocent country man or woman is uprooted and plunged into the vortex of town life.

But *De toute son âme* and *Le Roi des Archers* take us into the factories and workrooms of the towns, and show us lives full of toil, suffering, temptation and hidden heroism. Whether in town or country every kind of honest work, especially manual work, interested Bazin, so that his writings could be described by Le Goffic as " a sort of grand fresco of workaday France in the twentieth century."

In *L'Isolée*, a strong and terrible book, Bazin shows the iniquity of the persecution of the religious orders : and proves incidentally that while he chose, by taste and on principle, to treat normally of the nobler side of humble life, he was not blind to its darker aspects. While in *Davidée Birot*, a book which had direct practical consequences, and in his latest work, *Un Monastère de Pierre Fourier*, he defends the spiritual independence of the lay teacher and the right of liberty for religious schools.

Another group, *Les Oberlé, Les Nouveaux Oberlé, Baltus le Lorrain, La Douce France, Il était quatre petits enfants*, are passionately full of the love of France. *Les Oberlé* is certainly a masterpiece ; while Bazin's last novel, *Magnificat*, a fine climax to his work, is a picture of the highest and most heroic vocation, the most necessary to save France and the world, that of the priest.

Bazin also wrote many travel books. They have the same seemingly effortless ease and purity of style as his novels—though we know that he was a painstaking artist ; the same love of colour, delicacy of observation, and power of suggesting landscape ; the same keen sense of traditions, manners, customs, even humours. They range over the French provinces, Corsica, Sicily, Italy, Spain, the East. He also wrote fine biographies, among which *Charles de Foucault* and *Pie X* stand out. These were subjects after Bazin's own heart.

When we add to what has just been said that Bazin is a master of narrative, a vivid creator of pathetic and tragic scenes, and of noble types, we have indicated the high literary quality of his novels. But we must insist on this, because his true rank has sometimes been obscured by his deliberate choice of the purer and more ideal aspects of human life. Not indeed that he has not written dark books and scenes, but he is reticent, and he sheds a ray of pity and divine light on the worst gloom. There is nothing more interesting than to find this question discussed by François Mauriac[1], a Catholic writer of very different general tone. Bazin had been spared those sad years of doubt and error through which many distinguished Frenchmen of recent times groped their way back to a realisation of Catholic truth : their names are in every memory, poets like Baudelaire and Verlaine, writers like Huysmans, Bourget—I had almost said Barrès—a critic like Brunetière, and later still a

[1] François Mauriac, *René Bazin* (Paris : Alcan, 1931).

Péguy, a Claudel, a Jammes. Consequently his work does not reflect these cruel experiences. Mauriac writes :

> A Catholic novelist whose life is all nobility, wisdom, and purity . . . . easily transposes into the outer world the victory that Grace unceasingly wins within him. His personal experience, the sway of Christ over his destiny, helps him to penetrate the deepest sense of the divine promise : " I am the Light of the world. He that followeth Me walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life . . . ." Bazin was in a sense more realist, more naturalist than Flaubert, than Maupassant or Zola, because he pierced through the surface of humanity. . . . True naturalism, complete naturalism, must be, if I may say so, supernaturalism . . . But to admit these preoccupations, these inspirations into his work, to consent to enlighten, to console, to serve, is, for a novelist of our age, a proof of deep renunciation. For *there exists in the modern world a big divorce : that of the work of art from noble principles, that of literature from good.* From the beginning of his career, M. René Bazin must have measured and joyously accepted the consequences of his choice. He knew that in every social class thousands and thousands of students, of girls, of young men and young women, of work-girls, teachers, apprentices, would drink the living water of his work. But that certain difficult critics, who in another writer would have extolled to the skies the eminent qualities of his style, would fail to appreciate them because, being a Christian, he willed also to be an apostle.

In painting his peasants, especially, Bazin brought out what he saw : the persistence of a Christian heredity in the best ; and by doing so he tended to reproduce it. " By his country-folk as he paints them," says Emile Baumann, " he resurrects or saves a French countryside formed on fine models. It is impossible to estimate the effect of a story like *La terre qui meurt*, which thousands of children, even in the official schools, have passionately read." How then estimate the effect of all the works of a novelist who, in all sincerity, wrote : " I can say that I never write a line without thinking of the souls of my readers." If the critics were sometimes less than just, Bazin was consoled at the close of his life by a letter from Rome assuring him that the Pope appreciated the

" exceptional service " rendered by his pen to the cause of God and the Church. " How many good impulses, holy aspirations, vocations even, have you not inspired, by the help of God's grace, of which you were the faithful instrument in the souls of your readers."

The testimonies publicly borne to Bazin in his last years are extremely striking. They come from all sorts of people, and notably from other writers such as Bourget, Bertrand, Bordeaux, Baumann, Doumic, Chaumeix. We may quote a few words spoken after his death by M. Paléologue to his colleagues of the Academy :—

> To-day . . . I will only remind you of the keenness of his mind, the attraction and uprightness of his character, his charm of manner, the moral force and eloquent firmness behind his words whenever a serious question occurred in our deliberations. And how can I refrain from paying homage to the quiet heroism he showed during those last months, when no hope of recovery was left to him ? Assuredly the unshakable certitudes which animated him, the radiant light that he already saw before him, all his Christian faith, so integral and so ardent, were a powerful help to him. But you know how particularly cruel this last trial was made for him, because of another trial which touched him in the tenderest fibres of his heart.

The spirit of the *Magnificat* ran through Bazin's thoughts for years : awakened surely by that *Lumen vitae* which Mauriac would place as an epigraph at the beginning of his work. We must not forget, in spite of the reality of the big divorce mentioned above, that that light shines through art as well as through character. When an author combines them, when for fifty years he has combined literary beauty with moral elevation and busied himself with the big fundamental issues of life, his work must surely live.

MARY RYAN

FRANCISCO DE VITORIA: FATHER OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

BY CHARLES H. MCKENNA, O.P.
Professor of Political Science, Providence College, Rhode Island

THE war with the Moslems was over. For nearly eight hundred years Christian Spain had waged an intermittent crusade against the invaders. For Spain the crusade was not a romantic episode of the far off Holy Land; it had been an earnest struggle, an ever present reality, which in the course of centuries came to be a part of the inmost being of every Spaniard. The fight to win back their land and to restore there the Catholic Faith in all its outward splendour had produced a people for whom religion and patriotism were almost the same thing. Each one felt himself to be a "Caballero"—a Knight—a real Defender of the Faith, always ready to answer the rallying cry of his patron Santiago. This practical identification of the noblest and most unselfish of human ideals developed in the Spaniard qualities of bravery, loyalty and fierce devotedness which honourably distinguished him on many a foreign battlefield, when there were no enemies left to fight at home. Many, it is true, loved the fighting for its own sake and became, like the immortal Cid, warrior mercenaries of an exalted type. The crusade spirit was ever recurrent and reached its full flower in the golden age of Ferdinand and Isabella.

With the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom, Spain achieved territorial and religious unity. Concentration within was to be accompanied by expansion without. The very year which saw the Cross raised over the battlements of the Alhambra, and Boabdil, the last of the Moorish chieftains, driven across the Strait of Africa, saw also a new land revealed beyond the western sea. The expedition of Columbus, "that foreign dreamer," had been successful, and Spain

was now to rise from a group of medieval states to the premier position among the nations of the world.

Naturally enough the discovery and colonization of a new world presented new and difficult problems. Prompted by various ideals the Spanish crusaders hoisted the sails of their caravels and crossed the Atlantic in never-ceasing numbers. Some were actuated chiefly by the spirit of adventure; for others the desire of gold was the compelling motive; still others, missionaries of the Gospel, sought only to christianize the Indians. History justly records the heroic deeds of the *Conquistadores*, but it also records the sad story of the all too frequent enslavement of the natives.

Hardly had the royal standards been unfurled in the New World when the process of exploitation began, and it was not confined merely to natural riches, but extended to the very persons of the natives who were deprived even of their fundamental rights. Many were the theories advanced in justification of this domination, and for a number of years public debates on the principles of the law and right involved were frequent in Spain. Some there were who maintained that the Spaniards had the right to occupy these lands and to subjugate their inhabitants not only through peaceful means but even by war. Some, like Sepúlveda, went so far as to declare that this violent subjugation was, at the same time, the best means of christianizing the Indians.

It will be remembered that the unity of Western Europe was at this time gradually dissolving; its spiritual and material foundations were being attacked by new and powerful forces. To quote Sir Paul Vinogradoff: "Instead of looking up to providential guidance and appealing to the Pope as Vicar of Christ to settle articles of faith, cases of conscience and international feuds, the peoples of Europe attempted to organize society on narrower lines of a combination of individuals under the sway of territorial states." That common

bond of Faith which for centuries united all Western Europe had been invaded by a strong nationalistic spirit. The Holy Roman Empire was fast losing its vitality, and the Papacy was no longer universally recognized as a tribunal of last resort. Independent national states, admitting no higher authority than the will of their ruler, had come into being. The civil law of the period, contained in the two monumental collections the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, was now found somewhat inadequate for the increased social and economic relations resulting from this nationalistic movement. There was need of a more extensive and a more clearly defined rule of conduct between nations.

It was then that Francisco de Vitoria, with a sagacity far beyond his day and even of ours, in a series of lectures at the University of Salamanca, discussed briefly yet completely the juridical and theological bases alleged for the solution of the whole question of Spanish sovereignty in the New World. These lectures attracted immediate and widespread attention. The doctrine which they contained was so opposed to the traditional point of view that Charles V wrote to the prior of Saint Stephen's Convent and complained against the liberty taken by " some masters of that house "—meaning of course Vitoria —in their discussions of Spanish activities in America. Four centuries have passed. These same lectures—or *Relectiones*, as they were called—are again attracting the attention and admiration of students the world over. In fact it is even proclaimed by no less an authority than Dr. James Brown Scott that Vitoria is the founder of the modern school of international law of which Grotius is the most illustrious member.

Vitoria, who is considered to have been one of the best known, if not the best-known, Spaniard of his day, was born in Vitoria, the chief city of Alava, in Old Castile, about 1483. While still very young he entered the Order of Friar Preachers, popularly called the Dominicans or

Black Friars. After completing his novitiate and several years' study of philosophy and theology, he was, in accordance with an ancient custom which still exists in the Order with reference to men of exceptional ability and promise, singled out by his superiors to pursue higher studies, in his case at the University of Paris.

A proper appreciation of Vitoria and his work cannot be had without some idea of the Order to which he belonged. The special mission of the Dominicans was an intellectual one. The motto engraved on the escutcheon of the Order is "Truth," and the reason of its very being is to spread truth and to defend it. In fact, the immediate purpose of its foundation was to win back Southern France from the Albigensian heresy, essentially an intellectual heresy. Preaching and teaching were considered by the Order as the most effective means of achieving this mission; and that its preaching and teaching might be based upon solid foundations, its members devoted themselves intensely to theological study, in consequence of which the convents of the Order were usually established in university centres.

Hence it is that, within five years after its papal approbation, the Order founded houses in Paris, Bologna, Toulouse, and Oxford. These houses assumed from their very beginning the form of colleges and were called *Studia Generalia*. A Dominican Convent was before long established in every major university town, and the plan of study was unique in Christendom for its order, thoroughness and high standard of attainment. Thus the friars played an important part in the public life of the nation; for it should be remembered, as Bede Jarrett writes—

> That in the Middle Ages universities and learning generally had far more influence over public opinion and far greater national importance than they have to-day . . Then a professor lectured on every conceivable subject in every great city of the Western World and would be asked as a matter of course to advise on political schemes and ideas, to settle international disputes, to direct the theories of coinage and exchange, to suggest the incid-

ence of taxation. It is said that of the three great powers that between them ruled the whole of Christendom (namely, the *Imperium* or civil government, the *Sacerdotium* or ecclesiastical corporation, and the *Studium* or universities) the most powerful by far . . . . was the Studium.

As confessors and advisers of kings, members of the Order took a leading part in the counsels of the realm; as ambassadors and messengers in the King's service, they frequently arranged treaties and staved off war. As cardinals in Rome and bishops within the kingdom, they had their share also in ecclesiastical affairs, defending home interests abroad and Roman interests at home. The international character of the Order itself, its high scholarship, and its influence on society in general made it an important factor in public life until the time of the Reformation, and in Spain and her far-distant dominions it remained a great power until even a much later date.

In the pages of Quétif-Echard, Touron, and other biographers is recorded the distinguished career of Francisco de Vitoria while at the University of Paris, first as student and then as Lector. There also he became acquainted with Erasmus of Rotterdam, Juan Luis Vives and other leading Humanists of the period, and their influence on him is manifested later in his *Relectiones* on the Indians and on the Law of War, in which he expounded principles stamped with moderation and humanity. His success as a teacher, even at this early age, prompted his recall from Paris and his appointment as Regent of Studies and Professor of Theology at the College of Saint Gregory in Valladolid. How well the judgment of his superiors was justified is evident from the opinions expressed by pupils and contemporaries who saw in his coming the dawn of a real revival of theological learning. For instance, Melchior Cano, always so moderate in his judgment, speaks of him as the great teacher whom Spain received " by a singular gift of God " ; and Domingo Banez calls him a " Second Socrates."

Upon the death of Pedro de Leon, the ranking chair of theology at the University of Salamanca became vacant and, as was the custom, candidates for the office entered into competition. The Dominicans, naturally desirous of holding this chair, began to consider whom they should suggest as their candidate. There was Diego de Astudillo, the most learned Dominican in Spain and already a professor at the University. Why not choose him? But no, after much deliberation they proposed Francisco de Vitoria, one almost unknown to Salamanca; for it was judged that Fray Diego's severity of manner would make him unpopular, whereas the wonderful natural gifts of Vitoria would attract and impress.

The method of election may seem strange to us and, at first sight, absurd. Each competitor had to lecture on his appointed subjects for a certain length of time, at the most for five weeks. The judges were the students, who cast their votes after attending the lectures of the various candidates. "In reality," as Father Getino writes in his life of Vitoria, "the students were the most concerned; they knew what they needed and were able to judge who could best give it to them." The voting was not one of numerical equality. Each student had a right to as many votes as the number of courses he attended in the respective faculty. So esteemed was the position that the whole period of election was one of intense excitement. Violent contests, leading at times to bloodshed, were not infrequent.

In the beginning Vitoria seemed to have everything against him. He had few friends among the students, and his rival was a famous Portuguese theologian, Maestro Margallo. It was not long, however, before it became apparent that the Dominicans had acted wisely in their choice. The solid learning and charm of expression of Vitoria secured for him the majority of votes, and accordingly he was sworn in before a notary on September 21, 1526, as Professor of the leading chair of theology, which

position he was destined to hold until his death twenty years later. Although only a little over forty years old, he proved himself to be well fitted for his new duties; in the words of Mortier, "under his direction the College of Salamanca obtained a position unique in Spain."

The Reformation with its attendant dilutions and vitiations of Catholic thought, which had already begun to stalk its way across Europe, was not to leave the mighty Paris unscathed. That citadel of Catholic learning, which for centuries had been the beacon for all similar institutions of Europe and which had given to the Church and to the world some of their greatest Popes and statesmen, now befuddled itself by assimilating the prevalent theories of those in revolt. Its ancient glory was finding its lowest ebb. This very fact accentuated the emergence of the University of Salamanca—which up to now had derived its chief fame from its school of civil and canon law—as the scene of a vast revival of theological scholarship. Indeed it was to Salamanca almost alone among the great universities of Christendom that the Popes could look for champions of the pure Ultramontane faith. And for this honour it is indebted primarily to Francisco de Vitoria, who taught theology in a scholarly and attractive way, enriching it with citations from the Fathers and by the facts of ecclesiastical history. His style, too, was more literary and more interesting than the dry and precise manner of the older Scholastics, although never once did he sacrifice solidity of doctrine for elegance of diction.

Francisco de Vitoria had the custom of delivering a carefully prepared address or disquisition at the formal opening of the University. His chief title to remembrance is based upon the notes of twelve of these lectures taken down by pupils and published by them some years after his death. Two of these discourses which treat of public law are of special interest to-day and, in fact, it is particularly upon these two juridical contributions that his

reputation as founder of modern international law is based. *De Indis*, written in 1532, considers the true and false titles which the Spaniards might advance to justify their domination in the New World. *De Jure Belli Hispanorum in Barbaros* was hurriedly put together in his scant leisure, as he himself informs us, to complete the earlier reading. The two taken together constitute, although in summary form, the first treatise of the law of peace and war. The late Professor Ernest Nys, perhaps the most learned historian of the modern law of nations, stated after years of study that Vitoria's treatise on the Indians and his tractate on war were superior to anything which had ever been written on the same subject.

Of Vitoria's competence to write on these questions there can be little doubt. He was well informed of the actual conditions; for the Dominicans, while not the first missionaries to the New World, were among the leaders in the great work of christianizing the Indians. History tells of their efforts in terms of glowing praise. They were the first protectors of liberty in America, the first to protest against the enslavement of the natives. Faithfully and fearlessly did they mould a principle, the effect of which is evidenced by the fact that to-day the red man is found in far greater numbers in the Latin Republics than in either the United States or Canada. Bartolome de Las Casas, the most noted of these missionaries, crossed the Atlantic no less than twelve times to plead the cause of the American aborigines before the Spanish Court. Dominican convents, and especially that of Saint Stephen where Vitoria was stationed, often witnessed the departure and return of missionary brethren. From them he received an accurate account of affairs in the colonies, and to their many and difficult problems he and other learned professors offered a solution in the light of the teaching of the Angelic Doctor. Vitoria admitted that legal questions should be treated according to the principles of law; but law must be moral, at least it should not be unmoral. Consequently, theologians

trained in the philosophy of law should be added to the jurists, who dealt, for the most part, with the wording of texts without considering the spirit or the right or wrong involved. In his opinion neither was complete without the other; the lawyer should be something of a moralist, and the moralist very much of a lawyer.

More than a brief outline of Vitoria's political doctrines cannot be attempted here. After examining all the titles advanced by the Spaniards for their jurisdiction over the Indians, he concluded that "the aborigines undoubtedly had true dominion in both public and private matters, just like Christians, and that neither their princes nor private persons could be despoiled of their property on the ground of their not being true owners." The traditional rule, "that which belongs to no one is granted to the first occupant," could not be applied in this case. This same principle formed the basis of that cardinal American doctrine proclaimed three centuries later by President Monroe in his famous message of 1823 to Congress: "The American continents . . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

The Spaniards, however, provided no harm was done, had the right to visit and settle in the land of the Barbarians and also lawfully to trade with them, "importing thither wares which the natives lack and exporting thence either gold or silver or other wares of which the natives have abundance." The existence of this right is proved, he says, from "the law of nations which either is natural law or is derived from natural law." Then taking a statement of Gaius as given in the *Institutes* of Justinian, he substitutes the word "nations" in place of the word "peoples" and says: "What natural reason has established among all nations is called the law of nations." By making this change, Vitoria enunciated the first adequate definition of international law. That the substitution was intentional is evident from its immediate application to a concrete case proposed in the next

sentence. "It is reckoned among all nations inhumane to treat visitors and foreigners badly without some special cause; while, on the other hand, it is humane and correct to treat visitors well.."

The term "international law" itself was coined by Jeremy Benthem in 1780. An earlier expression, "law between nations," goes back to Richard Zouche (1650). But, to quote Dr. Herbert Wright, Professor of International Law in the Catholic University of America, "the idea underlying these terms, if not the actual terms themselves, if we make due allowance for the difference between English and Latin, goes back to the self-same Franciscus de Vitoria, the Dominican theologian of Salamanca . . ." In Vitoria's definition is found all the essential elements of the definitions given by Wheaton, Westlake and other authorities on international law.

What is the nation to which international law applies and who is its representative? Vitoria clearly and precisely defines them. "The State or nation is a perfect community." Perfect in the sense that it is complete, "not part of another community, but has its own laws, and its council, and its own magistrates, such as is the Kingdom of Castile and Aragon, and the Republic of Venice and other like communities." It is clear that Vitoria had in mind a juridical and not a mere racial entity. "The prince holds his position by the election of the State." He is its representative and wields its authority. Consequently the citizens have the moral responsibility of entrusting this office to those who will use it wisely and justly. The State has "not only the right to use force to defend itself but also to avenge itself and its subjects and to redress wrongs." For this latter statement the authority of Aristotle is invoked to the effect that a State ought "to be sufficient unto itself." "But it cannot," Vitoria goes on to say, "adequately protect the public weal and the position of the State if it is not able to avenge a wrong."

The only just cause admitted for commencing war is "a wrong received." Diversity of religion, extension of empire, as well as personal glory to the prince, are not legitimate causes for waging war. After hostilities have broken out it is not lawful to kill the innocent, among whom are enumerated women, children, "harmless agricultural folk, foreigners or guests who are sojourning among the enemy," and the clergy. All these "are presumed innocent unless the contrary be proved."

Even after the justice of a war has been determined, care must be taken "that greater evils do not arise out of the war than the war would avert." In an earlier relectio, *De Potestate Civili*, he writes :—

> No war is just, if it is evident that its prosecution will bring evil rather than advantage and profit to the State, even though titles and reasons establishing its justice on other grounds may be brought forward . . . . Since each State is a part of the whole world, and especially since a Christian province is a part of the State, if a war which is of advantage to one State or to one province be detrimental to the whole world, or to Christian society, I consider that for that reason the war is unjust.

Quite different from the teaching of Vitoria was that of Niccolo Machiavelli, who at about the same time was writing his famous work *Il Principe*. "Do not," he taught according to Dr. van Vollenhoven's apt summary of the Italian's doctrine, "indulge in fancies about men and governments being ruled by ethical tenets : make men and governments drop their disguises ; realize that they live for power, wealth, pleasure and glory ; avow that their highest aim of altruism is to serve their nations, and that outside of national relations law and ethics are absent : therefore build powerful nations, fortify and unify Italy, do not worry about the means . . ."

Vitoria's whole doctrine of the law of war is summarised in three canons or rules at the end of his treatise *De Jure Belli*. The first canon reads :—

> Assuming that a prince has authority to make war, he should first of all not go seeking occasions and causes of war, but should

if possible live in peace with all men . . . . For it is the extreme of savagery to seek for and rejoice in grounds for killing and destroying men whom God has created and for whom Christ died. *But only under compulsion and reluctantly should he come to the necessity of war.*[1]

Within the past few years forty-two nations have signed and ratified the Briand-Kellogg Pact, in which " the High Contracting Parties solemnly declare . . . . that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." In Article II of the same document they agree " that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, *shall never be sought except by pacific means.*"[2] In other words, war will not be resorted to except in self-defence and then only after all pacific means have been exhausted. In recognition of his services to mankind Mr. Kellogg was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize of 1929. But compare the principle of Vitoria's first canon with that of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War. What can his words mean if not that war is renounced " as an instrument of national policy " and that the settlement of disputes " shall never be sought except by pacific means " ?

In substance the second and third canons are as follows : Even when war has broken out for just causes, the belligerent may not aim at the destruction of the opposing nation but the prosecution of his own rights and the defence of his country and in such a way that peace and security may eventually be obtained. When the war is over and victory gained, " it must be used with Christian moderation . . . . The victor must look upon himself not as a prosecutor but rather as a judge between the wronged nation and the nation doing wrong." He will deliver the judgment whereby the injured State

[1] Italics ours. [2] Italics ours.

can obtain satisfaction but with the minimum of disaster and misfortune to the vanquished. How different would be the story of the world to-day if the principles of Vitoria had guided the framers of the Treaty of Versailles!

Did space permit many more principles of international relations considered to be entirely modern could be traced back, at least in germ, to the writings of Vitoria. The right of naturalization, the right of intervention, mandates, the responsibility of States for damage done within their territory to the persons or property of non-nationals, and even the idea behind the League of Nations can be found in the teachings of the Dominican divine. Truly, Vitoria must have seemed to those who heard him from his chair in the University of Salamanca "to be far ahead of his time, when to us he seems modern and, in some respects, in advance of our practice if not of our thought."[1] It is only within recent years that his works have begun to receive the recognition which they justly deserve. For all too long the opinion has prevailed that modern international law owes its origin to Hugo Grotius. Grotius himself made no such extravagant claim, and a close study of his works reveals how much he is indebted to Vitoria, Suarez, and other predecessors in the field. He was rather the great systematizer of international law. In "An Unpublished Work of Hugo Grotius" Professor Robert Fruin of the University of Leyden writes:—

> What others had viewed correctly, or had represented in itself correctly, but without connection with other ideas, was collected by him, arranged and combined to form a system. This, then, is the merit to which he lays claim and which he fully deserves. He constructed the building, but of material furnished by others. Without their previous labour his work would have been impossible. He acknowledges this gratefully and openly; but his contemporaries and descendants have overlooked the fact

[1] James Brown Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law* (Washington, 1928), p. 40. Dr. Scott has done much to make known the debt of modern international law to Vitoria, Suarez, and other Catholic writers. In appreciation of his work the degree of doctor *honoris causa* was conferred on him in 1927 by the University of Salamanca.

and given him all the honour . . . . The two treatises of Vitoria more than any other book provided our author with the subject matter which he worked up into his system.

This reasoned judgment of the famous Dutch historian is corroborated by the testimony of Walker, Nys, Phillipson, Barcia Trelles, Scott and many other authorities; and, in fact, the influence of Vitoria's lectures is now becoming universally recognized.

The year 1932 marks the four hundredth anniversary of the writing of these lectures of Francisco de Vitoria. To commemorate this event a committee of six prominent persons in the United States planned an elaborate programme to be held last October at the University of Salamanca where Vitoria taught. It was proposed to have the Institute of International Law hold its annual session at Salamanca. All the universities of the world in which international law is taught were to be invited to send representatives to the congress. It was proposed also to found a "Francisco de Vitoria Institute of International Relations," which would be maintained by Americans and have for its purpose the teaching of international law in the light of the doctrines of the Spanish school of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, mindful of the fact that Vitoria lived for a time in the Monastery of San Gregorio at Valladolid, the committee petitioned the Spanish Government for the concession of this building to be transformed into a residence for students of Spain and America who wished to study at the University the theories of the founder of international law. How far this programme has been carried out I do not know; but what, alas, we all know is that, while scholars all over the world were preparing to honour the memory of Francisco de Vitoria, the Spanish Government was engaged in persecuting his Order and all Religious Orders, though Spain owes much of her past greatness to these Orders.

CHARLES H. MCKENNA

JESUIT BEGINNINGS IN AUSTRALIA

BY GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J.

IN April, 1931, the mission of the Society of Jesus in Australia was given by its ruling powers the status of an "independent vice-province": it was to be no longer a dependency of Ireland; and thus was terminated a bond that had existed for some thirty years.[1] From that date Australia was to be expected to provide for herself in the matter of the Society's activities, as she was learning to provide for herself in numerous other ways. This moment, therefore, seems an appropriate one for retrospect and for a rendering of some historical justice. As Australian Jesuits are now gradually taking the place of Irish, so the Irish had come into an inheritance prepared for them by others. These others were Austrians—members of a Province venerable with an antiquity of 350 years.

It was not without peculiar fitness that the first Jesuits to appear as missionaries in Australia were Austrians. The resemblance of names is not fortuitous; for the name "Australia" was given as long ago as 1605 to a vague and indefinite portion of the Southern Hemisphere[2] by a Spanish explorer, Pedro de Quiros, not because of the southern or "austral" lie of the land, but in honour of his king, Philip III, and of the Austrian imperial line from which Philip was descended.

The first certain record we possess of Catholic rites being celebrated on the shores of the Australian mainland is connected with the French expedition led by

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[1] In a sense, for some sixty-seven years, for Irish Jesuits had begun to labour in Australia as long ago as 1865. But it was not till 1901 that the Irish province juridically took the place of the Austrian as regarded the Society all over Australia.

[2] The New Hebrides were probably the nearest point to Australia landed on and named by de Quiros; but he may well have sighted Australia itself.

Lapérouse in 1779. Two priests who accompanied that expedition celebrated Mass in the neighbourhood of what Captain Cook very soon after named Botany Bay. Catholicism next appears in the shape of exiles and martyrs for conscience' sake—Irish priests condemned by English injustice to share the lot of deported convicts.[1] We have not here to pursue the tale of the rapid religious progress that has gone on in Australia—more steadily, perhaps, than progress in any other respect—from about 1820 to the present day. We are concerned only with the Jesuits and their appearance in 1848.

It was connected in no slight degree with the revolutionary movements that in that year convulsed a great part of Europe. But it had also another origin—the reports that had begun to circulate in Europe as to the richness and fertility of the soil of the new Southern Continent, and the facility and freedom with which industrious toilers could there earn themselves a livelihood and grow into wealth. Among those who willingly listened to such tales was a Silesian farmer of good standing, named Francis Weikert. He devised the plan of bringing out to Australia not merely his own family but a number of others—Silesians and Catholics like himself—who should be the pioneers and founders of a little colony, guided in spiritual matters by a German Catholic pastor. He employed an agent to collect associates for his scheme, and at this point he was seriously unfortunate. The man he employed was worthless and fraudulent, and whereas Weikert had required the bringing together of a number of honest willing workers and good Catholics, who, assisted by him with passage-money, should in the land of their adoption pay off their obligations to the chief of the expedition, the agent made his own profit by collecting a number of fellows like to himself, who, ere half the voyage was over, threw off their Catholic

[1] For accounts of two pioneer priests, Fathers Therry and O'Flynn, see STUDIES, Dec. 1922 and Dec. 1928.

mask, annoyed and ridiculed the sincere Catholics on board, and after their arrival in Australia scattered in all directions, ignoring their indebtedness to Weikert and leaving him and his few faithful companions to shift for themselves, unpaid and unthanked.

As to the provision for a Catholic pastor, it gave Weikert no little concern among the various preparations for his big enterprise. He committed the necessary negotiations to his wife, a woman of more refined culture than himself, who pleaded the cause of the spiritual needs of the Australian expedition with the Archbishop of Munich—later known as Cardinal Reisach. The Archbishop was well disposed as to the granting of the request for a chaplain, but found it difficult or impossible to supply the person required. After considerable delay the Provincial of the Austrian Jesuits was approached. Owing to the recent expulsion of his subjects from their European centres of activity, he had at the moment an unusual number of men at his disposal for missionary expeditions; but as few or none were speakers of the English language, the suggested expedition to remote Australia offered no human attractions. The Provincial, after due consultation with the Father-General Roothaan, called together a large number of Fathers, laid before them Weikert's humble petition and the Archbishop's request, and then asked for volunteers. A brief silence followed; then a young Father, Maximilian Klinkowstroem, a Viennese, offered himself. He was followed promptly by Father Aloysius Kranewitter, a native of the Tyrol, who had but recently celebrated his first Mass and had on that occasion felt strongly urged to devote himself to some remote foreign mission. The Provincial, with emotion that was shared by all present, accepted the generous offer of the two volunteers.

Their chief viaticum when they started was a letter from the Archbishop of Munich to be delivered to the Bishop of Adelaide, in whose diocese Weikert's colony

were to settle—a letter in which the two missionaries are warmly commended as "non minus doctrina et pietate quam probitate et integritate vitae spectabiles," and in which is also mentioned the strong desire of their Father-General that they should not be separated, but allowed to live together and observe the rules of their Order.

It was the feast of Our Lady's Assumption, 1848, when Weikert and some eighty companions, together with Fathers Klinkowstroem and Kranewitter, set sail from Hamburg. The most agreeable episode of their four-months voyage was a rest of two or three days at Rio de Janeiro, during which the Italian Capuchin friars received the missioners with friendly hospitality. Adelaide was reached in the first week of December. We have already seen how disappointingly Weikert's colonising scheme began; in fact, only fourteen out of the eighty he had led forth from Hamburg remained true to him.

The first business of the two Fathers naturally was to present themselves to the Bishop. He was at first somewhat put out by their unexpected and unannounced appearance, but soon revealed himself as paternally kind and as a good and zealous pastor. Nor was it surprising if he felt their advent as a boon from heaven. Dr. Francis Murphy was a native of Navan, in Ireland; he had come out, accompanied by his sister, to assist the only bishop then resident in Australia, Dr. Bede Polding, O.S.B., in his pioneer work for the Church; he had been suddenly and too optimistically consecrated by Dr. Polding as "Bishop of Adelaide" in 1843; he had found in the very raw metropolis of South Australia not a priest, not a church, not a presbytery, not a school; and very naturally had nearly fallen into a mood of utter despair. From this he had valiantly emerged by 1848, but the circumstances were still such as to render very precious the services of two zealous priests such as he recognised in the Austrian Fathers. These two had presently to

face, among other severe trials, the unexpected one of separation. It was not merely that Bishop Murphy was very unwilling to allow both to leave him in order to plunge into the wilds along with the Weikert colony. It was, furthermore, that Father Klinkowstroem gave less and less hope of being able to face the trials of the new life he had so courageously chosen.

Detained at Adelaide, while Father Kranewitter accompanied Weikert northward, his state of health became so low that he was obliged, following medical advice, to cross the ocean once again and return to his native land. His voyage lasted for months and was prolific of miseries of which he has left a detailed account; yet when at last he reached Holland, his health had greatly improved, and he was cheered (among other comforts) by an interview with the Father-General Roothaan, who was then visiting his Dutch compatriots. Making his way presently to Austria, Father Klinkowstroem became after some time active as a missioner and preacher, and attained in this way a celebrity that lasted till he passed away—almost an octogenarian.

Meantime Father Kranewitter, with Weikert and their fourteen companions, had reached a site some 85 miles north of Adelaide, where various natural advantages prompted them to make an end of their exploratory quest. It was the region where to-day stand the small village, the Jesuit residence, and the handsome church of Sevenhills.[1] Weikert made for himself and his family a wooden dwelling, the chief defect of which was the lack of glazed windows, glass being unobtainable; it had five compartments, and one of these was the cell and chapel of Father Kranewitter for the next three years.

The colonists, at the price of hard labour, began to

[1] This church, built on a scale for which the local population has unhappily proved too small, was largely the handiwork of Jesuit lay-brothers. At its (partial) completion in 1864 some splendid gifts had been received from Austria and Bavaria, including a large picture of the Assumption presented by his Majesty the King of Bavaria.

prosper on their new soil, and the Jesuit missioner faithfully ministered, all alone as he was, to their spiritual wants. A clerical neighbour was, indeed, resident at no great distance. Already an Irish colony had pioneered the village of Clare, some seven miles north from Sevenhills and at present a much more important place. They had a chapel and (between 1847 and 1851) a resident priest. None the less it was a great joy for the Jesuit when two members of his Society came in 1849 to bear him company. These were the lay-brothers George Sadler and John Schreiner, who had been sent out at the expense of the Bavarian Society for Foreign Missions (Ludwigsverein). Landing on the 4th March, they were hospitably detained for a few days at Adelaide, then sent northwards on a bullock-drawn cart, and presently received with great joy by the Weikertian colony, to which they immediately began to render the most practical services; while Father Kranewitter was not a little gratified by a gift of £28 sterling, which the good Brothers had saved out of the expenses of their voyage.

These events and Father Kranewitter's increasing familiarity with the ways and language of his adopted land gave him courage to shoulder a new burden which was imposed upon him in 1851 by the Bishop of Adelaide. He was given parochial charge of the vast region extending from Sevenhills to the neighbourhood of Adelaide and to uncharted distances north, east and west—a region in which population was rapidly growing, attracted by increasing yields of minerals, wheat and wool, and where German, Irish and Poles were but the chief elements in a strange mingling of nationalities. He, like Weikert, long continued to cherish the idea of a genuinely German and Catholic settlement, in which the ideas and manners of old Silesia might continue to be cherished; but the idea was never realised, chiefly because German settlers did not arrive in sufficient numbers. For a similar reason a neighbouring colony of Poles, some ten miles distant,

gradually faded out. But Father Kranewitter did his best to be all things to all men, and was indefatigable as the roaming pastor of an enormous parish.

At the same time the desire for a permanent settlement and French centre was strong in himself and his two (presently three) companions, and it was with much satisfaction that they acquired and occupied in 1852 the piece of land on which stand the present church and residence of Sevenhills. They constructed there a rude dwelling and ploughed a soil that had hitherto borne nothing but gum-trees and brush-wood. They planted vineyards, and could enhance the celebration of Easter Sunday, 1853, by serving at table some grapes of their own growing.

A greater joy, however, fell to their lot on a certain day of the following October. Father Kranewitter had come to Adelaide for some necessary business, and while he walked along the main street, deep in thought, who should come to meet him but his colleague in the Society and fellow-Tyrolian, Father Joseph Tappeiner! After warm mutual greetings the situation was soon explained: Father Tappeiner had been sent with a lay-brother by their Austrian Provincial to the aid of the Australian Mission, and their ship had landed them at Port Adelaide only a few hours previously. After a visit to Bishop Murphy the two priests took their way to the new home at Sevenhills. Father Tappeiner was destined to be active in works till the year 1881, when his happy death ended the earthly career of one of the most amiable and esteemed missioners who have ever given their services to Australia.

He applied himself, like his predecessors, diligently to the study of English speech, began to preach and give retreats and after some years was invited for two successive years to conduct the diocesan retreat of the diocese of Melbourne. This helped to an important event—the calling to Australia of Jesuits from Ireland.

At the eastern side of Melbourne, in a high-lying

district now quite encircled by the great city, was a secondary school which Bishop Goold had started in the 'fifties close to his episcopal residence, close also to the future site of the noble cathedral which, though still unfinished, dominates all the region and crowns the eastward vista along Melbourne's leading thoroughfare. Ten years later the Bishop, finding this school, known as St. Patrick's College, troublesome to him owing to financial and other difficulties, resolved to entrust it to the care and continuous direction of a religious community. The Jesuits were then particularly well known and esteemed in Melbourne owing to the retreats given by Father Tappeiner and the visits of one or two others; they were naturally, therefore, thought of for the work to be done at St. Patrick's. But the Austrian missioners were ill-suited for the direction of an English-speaking school; besides, they already bore on their shoulders a weight of missionary and parochial toils that might seem quite out of proportion to their small numbers.

The Provincial of Ireland was therefore asked to supply the staff requisite for the conduct of St. Patrick's. In 1865 two Fathers arrived from Ireland—Fathers William Kelly and Joseph Lentaigne—and entered at once upon active duties, Father Kelly actually preaching in Melbourne's Pro-Cathedral on the very day of his arrival. Other missioners gradually followed, other houses were opened, churches and colleges built, and a record of progress begun and carried on, which we have not now to dwell on, but which embraced a vast variety of spiritual and educational labours, from the scope of which no class or nationality was excluded. The Austrian Jesuits made a splendid beginning; the Irish Jesuits have continued and developed their work; and now there is good reason to hope that the new Australian province, thrown on native resources, will advance unfalteringly on the lines marked out by Ignatius and Xavier and trodden by those pioneers.

G. O'Neill

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF GOETHE

BY MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

Professor of German, University College, Dublin

FATHER Friedrich Muckermann, S.J., has written an original book[1] and one after my own heart. It is such an adventure in interpretation as I have longed to see since the days, nineteen years ago, when I read through *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke* in two large volumes of 1300 pages by the Jesuit Fathers Baumgartner and Stockmann. That nineteen-year-old book, bristling with footnotes and crushed under a weight of documentary evidence that dismays, was on the whole a denial of Goethe. Stressing his personal and moral weaknesses, and exposing his hostility to orthodox religion, it invited us, after it had laid bare the feet of clay, to cast down the idol or at least to admit him only to a secondary niche in our temple of culture. I felt at the time that the work was a counterblast to a Goethe cult which was German in the efficiency of its organisation, but German also, I fear, in the absurd dogmatisations and exaggerations to which such cults are prone. The tone of those 1913 volumes was polemical, though the methods were strictly scientific and the documentation exhaustively complete. It was anti-Goethe for the same reason for which, and in the same way in which, an article by Marie Gasquet, appearing this year in the *Etudes*, is anti-Goethe. Marie Gasquet exposes, in this centenary year in which the cultural world has united to do honour to Goethe, some " spots in the sun " ; not, I assume to minimise the greatness of Goethe as a human portent, but to remind us that he was human by showing us that he could, upon occasion, act inhumanly. She was appalled at the selfishness of genius exploiting human material for its own ends. But she must know that such exploitation is not uncommon, and that it often has not even the excuse of genius for its justification.

Father Muckermann's book is Goethe with a difference. It is not a biography, nor is it a detailed investigation of Goethe's works, still less is it an attack ; but it is a revelation. It is a very human work, with not a little of the divine—especially in its

[1] *Goethe.* Von Friedrich Muckermann, S.J. (Bonn : Verlag der Buchgemeinde, 1931).

sense of the oneness of the beautiful, the good and the true, in its sweep and breadth of vision, and in its large and kindly tolerance of human frailty, even the frailty of a man of genius. There is neither bibliography nor are there footnotes; there is not even an index; but there is learning, reflection and a wise understanding. It is a work of rescue, and yet not tendencious; of rescue in a double sense, perhaps—rescuing the subject from those who would put him "in the place of the god they had lost," and rescuing him for those who may have been made to feel that they should renounce friendship with a great irreconcilable, a "heathen", whom the members of a cult had tried to elevate into the position of founder of a new paganism.

The author evidently felt that the time had come for such a work and that, even in a Goethe-ridden book-world, there was room for one such book as his. We, who are in touch with German movements, know that the wheel has gone round somewhat in the last nineteen years in Germany and that many persons of different religious denominations who then ranged themselves against Weimar in the name of religion, might now find themselves with Weimar against the chaos of modern godlessness and modern anarchy of every kind. For Goethe was neither godless nor anarchic; neither was he, as he is revealed in his most significant works and utterances, irreligious or immoral, though his religion and his morality were not expressed in terms of any orthodox Christian system. Moreover, the position of Catholics in Germany has undergone a profound change in the last twenty years. They are politically and culturally emancipated. There is no longer need for them to play bourgeois or philistine over against an art and a personality which have ceased to be the monopoly of an ascendancy and have become a national, as well as an international, possession. Many of the fundamentals of that art and that personality can be brought into harmony with a culture, the great traditions of which have ever been along the lines of a synthesis of Nature and Grace, Knowledge and Faith, Religion and Art.

Fr. Muckermann is not by any means the first to voice this idea of reconciliation. Richard Kralik in Vienna and Hermann Bahr in Munich have time and again countered any attempt to reject such cultural values as are offered by Goethe. The same attitude has been consistently represented by Dr. Muth, the talented editor of the Catholic periodical *Hochland*, whilst this year's lists of Goethe literature show a Faust commentary by Pater Expeditus Schimdt, a well-known member of a religious

order. But Fr. Muckermann is the first, to my knowledge, to attempt a scientific examination, from the Christian Catholic viewpoint, of one of the great authors of modern times, with the object of showing that there is in Goethe's art and activity an exposition of humanity as it has been re-fashioned by Christian ethics and ennobled and deepened by Christian culture. He is the first Catholic writer to attempt, in a work of any length, a synthesis between Christianity and Goethean idealism and to deliberately refuse to admit into his picture those human aberrations or expressions of human aberration which Goethe shares with more orthodox artists and which cannot be said, upon close examination of his life and work, to be symbolical of the man. That such a synthesis cannot but be fruitful of good, few, if any, will deny; that its unfolding is productive of keen intellectual enjoyment, readers of Fr. Muckermann's book can judge for themselves.

I have already indicated that the book has none of the usual features of a learned disquisition. It is excellently illustrated; the pictures, ranging from Joseph Altheimer's Albertus Magnus and Giotto's Dante to one of Dostojewski, include some of the most interesting of the usual Goethe portraits and busts. There is a concession to the ordinary reader in an appendix, an admirably brief 8-page sketch of Goethe's life; but the book does not set out to analyse or discuss individual works for themselves, nor does it enter into details of biographic episodes, no matter how interesting. It is a gradual evocation, in nine chapters, of Goethe under various aspects and as he is revealed in his most characteristic writings and utterances. These aspects are then reviewed in the light of Catholic philosophy and tradition. The philosophic breadth and the aesthetic scope of Fr. Muckermann's evocation can be glimpsed in the chapter headings: Goethe's artistic vision; Goethe's universe; Goethe the man; the cosmic; the ethic; the religious Goethe; Goethe, the poet; the educator; the sage. Such an evocation is, of course, subjective in character—Fr. Muckermann tells us as much; he also lets us into the secret of his vision. It is evolved out of steady absorption and penetration into his subject; it amounts to an exchange, a fusion of personalities; it is Goethe's own method, intuitive, immediate and sympathetic in the full sense of that term. Indeed this method constitutes the charm of a book which has a creative no less than a critical character. It does not necessarily imply a close acquaintance with the vast literature which has accumulated round Goethe in the hundred years since his death, but it is

abundantly evident everywhere in this book that Fr. Muckermann has that acquaintance. He sees his subject in all the added lights which modern research and modern science can throw on the problem of genius and its reactions. Indeed, a good deal of modern Goethe criticism must have stimulated the author; at least it points in the direction of his vision. Jakob Minor always insisted on the essential religiousness of Goethe and pointed out some remarkable anticipations of the god-minded cosmic philosophy of Faust in the less well-known early poems. Critics like Konrad Burdach and Dietrich Mahnke link Goethe with Leibniz rather than with Spinoza; and Montgomery, who in a recent publication, *Studies in the Age of Goethe* (reviewed in a previous number of *Studies*), made these views accessible to the English reading public, insisted on the similarity in many points between Goethe's nature vision and the conception of St. Thomas Aquinas, and pointed to St. Francis of Assisi and St. Bonaventure as personalities to whom Goethe was indebted and with whom he would have felt himself in many points in sympathy.

Some of the outstanding results of Fr. Muckermann's examination of Goethe's art and personality under the above-mentioned heads may now be summed up as briefly as possible, and it is to be understood that his statements are everywhere supported by quotation from and reference to the great and characteristic works of Goethe.

Firstly.—Goethe's vision of nature constitutes one of the real values in life. The call of nature is *fatum elemental;* no human being, no culture, no religion can afford to disregard that. Goethe's discovery for himself of law in nature is the measure of his development. It is for him an indwelling law, of the very structure of being. To trace that law he studied with persevering love many sciences and many arts. (Before Fr. Muckermann's eyes there rises up in this connection the image of the 13th century saint-scientist, Albert the Great, with whose picture set in a characteristic German landscape he presents us.) That nature law, which is the norm for all other laws, belongs inalienably to religion. The poet is here at one with Christianity. He finds a link between law in nature and the spirit of man, which works in the contemplation of phenomena as light plays on darkness, evolving a harmony of Ego and object which every student of Goethe will recognise as his great characteristic. This feeling for nature is love and is a step towards the love of creatures, of man for woman, towards that love in which all the harmonies of the world meet and dissolve. This love instinct is strongly developed in Goethe and,

with the exception of a rare aberration, is as free from serious moral failings in him as in other men. All this process of love of nature and of nature's laws directs the mind beyond nature to God. The human and the natural are never with Goethe an end in themselves; they contain the idea of the Godhead, though Goethe did not visualize a spiritual God any more than the great pre-Christian poets did.

Secondly.—Goethe's philosophy of the physical universe and of God is more closely related to Leibniz than to Spinoza and, therefore, nearer to the Christian tradition. Nowhere in the nature philosophy of Goethe is there a trace of the materialistic conception of the universe, and the *Faust* which has been so much decried by dogmatists has a sublime vision of a God-guided cosmos.

Thirdly.—Goethe is the great exponent of the humanist and the individualist ideal. There is nothing necessarily pagan in such an ideal. The 13th century, the great blossoming time of mediaeval Catholicism, could be described as a humanistic age, when man became conscious of his cultural dignity and Europe glowed with the works of his hand. Individualism is not necessarily a Reformation product; it is an historical process, and no Church more fully recognizes the rights of the individual than the Catholic Church, whose great saints are strongly individualized personalities. Goethe's individualistic reactions in the days of "Storm and Stress" were always against pietistic and puritanic narrowness which regarded strength, daring and personality as pagan.

Fourthly.—There are profoundly ethical values in Goethe, which emerge when he gets over the excesses of the Storm and Stress period. He is then, and ever afterwards, the great exponent of limitation of liberty. An essential element of his philosophy of life, a *leitmotif* of his poetry, is self-conquest, renunciation. The ripe Goethe, the educator, the sage—author of the "Elective Affinities" and of the "Wander Years" upholds marriage as indissoluble, upholds the family, sets the ethic against the cosmic, law against freedom; he believes in God, with whom he associates the ethical idea.

Fifthly.—Goethe had a clear idea of immortality and believed in the indestructibility of the soul, in the inseparableness of the soul from a state of activity, in a continued development in which the higher state of the soul depended on what it had accomplished here below.

Sixthly.—Goethe was never what is called a "liberal"; his youth was not lived under that dreary symbol; he is a follower of

Klopstock, a friend of Lavater ; there is a " Hound of Heaven " mood in many of his youthful utterances, but he was the victim of a rationalistic age and of an arid Protestantism, and was too set in his own cultural world when the Romantic reactions set in at the end of the century. He had, all his life long, a feeling for Christianity whenever he encountered it in a natural form. He disliked Pascal and loved St. Philip Neri. He loved the Gospels and had a real understanding of parable. His words on the Sacramental System of the Catholic Church in the Seventh Book of *Wahrheit und Dichtung* might have proceeded from an ardent Catholic philosopher, and his exposition of the " three reverences " in the Wander Years, as well as his retelling of Christian legends in the same second part of *Wilhelm Meister* show a great sympathy with Christian ideas. His wisdom sees in the natural a symbol of the supernatural, whilst his language, breathing the purity of nature, is calculated to unveil the supernatural. The rhythm of his life is Christian ; its tempo is measured and slow, penetrating into the heart of things. He can spend half-an-hour before a flower in his garden : " Behold, the lilies of the field. . . . ."

Seventhly.—Goethe is the inheritor of a Christian, not to say Catholic, form and tradition of art and of a language which, coming down through Luther, is nevertheless Catholic, having absorbed into itself the great mediaeval German past. That art-form and that language receive, in their turn, an impress from Goethe and become the vehicle for the hopes and fears, the loves and joys and sorrows of Germans of every denomination in the present and the future. They can no more deny Goethe-form than they can deny their country.

Fr. Muckermann is himself, in his vision and its expression, a good example of the continuance of the Goethe tradition. And if he had been minded to illustrate that seventh point, he might adduce—if he were too modest to put his own work into the line of descent—such examples of well-known contemporary German Catholic writers as Hermann Bahr and Hans Carossa, in whom the beautiful Goethe form and tradition lives and flourishes without detriment to their belief and its practice.

MARY M. MACKEN

REVIEWS

Biography

UNE PRINCESSE DE LA RENAISSANCE. Marguerite d'Angoulême, Reine de Navarre. By Pierre Jourda. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1932. 20fr.

THIS volume of the series *Temps et Visages* gives us a picture of the early half of the French sixteenth century, full of variety and movement : royal splendour and royal sadness ; ambitions, successes and disappointments ; splendid festivals, the clash of arms, political intrigues ; all the disturbances and disputes arising out of the Reformation, and the exuberant literary production of the early French Renaissance.

Through it all moves Marguerite d'Angoulême, the gracious, devoted and brilliant sister of that most brilliant French king Francis I. They were the children of Charles Count of Angoulême and of Louise of Savoie ; and they grew up in almost country retirement. Thanks to the far-sighted and enlightened ambition of their mother, their education was such as to prepare them for a prominent part in the intellectual and literary movement of their age. It might be said of Marguerite, as of another French princess later, that she had many of the advantages, moral and intellectual, of being brought up in relative obscurity.

Her marriage with Charles d'Alençon in 1509 was dictated by political expediency : to end a lawsuit pending between that family and the crown of France. When Francis, in default of a direct heir, succeeded to the throne in 1515, Marguerite began to play her outstanding part in the early glories of the reign, helping her brother with her sympathy, her charm, her activity. When in 1525, after the battle of Pavia, he went as prisoner to Madrid, and when her husband, to whom that defeat was partly attributed, had died, Marguerite went herself to Madrid and tried, ineffectually, to make terms in person with Charles-Quint. In 1527 she married Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, with hardly more personal inclination, and thenceforward was somewhat torn in her political allegiance. The kingdom of Navarre had been shorn of its Spanish possessions by Ferdinand the Catholic, and Henri d'Albret's life-long ambition was to recover them. How could this be done ? By inducing Francis I to support the claim ? But Francis had other battles to fight with his redoubtable rival Charles-Quint. Or by trying to bring about a marriage between Jeanne d'Albret, Marguerite's daughter, and the heir to the

Spanish crown ? So the relations between Francis and Marguerite were somewhat clouded, and her influence waned.

France was at that time seriously affected by the Reformation : Jeanne d'Albret, married to Antoine de Bourbon when the Spanish marriage-project broke down entirely, went over to Calvinism with her husband. At first Francis and Marguerite were distinctly interested in the Reformers. Among Marguerite's correspondents and protégés were many who were suspect or much more, such as Marot and Rabelais, Lefèvre d'Etaples, Berquin and Dolet whom her influence did not save. She sheltered refugees from France at her court at Nérac when she was queen of Navarre. But it seems as if she, like many others, was attracted by the apparent newness of certain exaggerated opinions, and did not see their drift. This is evident from certain of her poems : *Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne* (1525), *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (1531), *Les Prisons* (1547). She speaks often of the danger of self-trust, of the need of direct personal love of God, of the uselessness of mere formal works, of the necessity of studying the Scriptures ; she satirises monks in her stories. But she never broke with Rome, and she did break with Calvin. In 1533, when her orthodoxy had been impugned and vindicated, she received a congratulation on her piety from Clement VII.

From the disappointments and sadness of private and public life religion was a real, but by no means the only, refuge. She was one of the first remarkable French women to cultivate pleasant and interesting social intercourse, as is reflected in her *Heptaméron*. She not only protected, but associated familiarly with scholars, poets and writers. She received many a dedication and many a compliment. She knew several languages, and was well versed in Italian and the older French literature. Her poems, collected under the ingenious title of *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses* (*margarita*=pearl), show lofty thought, real personal emotion and deep religious feeling ; but they are often too long, too discursive, too bookish, and altogether lack form. So does the *Heptaméron*, in spite of its many qualities. This book reflects her gaiety, her sociability, her knowledge of a corrupt world, which she shows no hesitation about describing. Her power of depicting character, her sense of the tragedy of passion, her ingenious analysis of chivalrous love, are premonitory of French classicism.

She is altogether a remarkable woman in her age and setting, and an outstanding French woman of letters.

M. R.

RAFAEL CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL. A Character Sketch. By F. A. Forbes. London: Longmans. 1932. pp. 200. 6s. net.

This character-sketch might be called a study in contradictions. To many the name of Cardinal Merry del Val connotes a grim ecclesiastic of inquisitorial proclivities; a rigid obscurantist of the dourest type. Here we have a man full of sympathy with all forms of suffering, actively charitable to the poor and needy, devotedly loved by a crowd of humble friends, and gifted moreover with a sense of humour—the heritage, doubtless, of his Celtic forbears.

He was a man of varied gifts, and this versatility produced those contradictions in character which mark many of our great men, and often lead to misinterpretation.

The biography is worked out with a fine tact and clear insight, while the attractive personality of the Cardinal reveals itself in many intimate and spiritual letters.

The key to the life of Rafael Merry del Val is in the contradiction that underlay his whole public career, running counter to his natural bent, his ambitions and tastes, forcing them into a diametrically opposed channel—followed only through devotion to the service of God and the Church, and made endurable by his attachment to the saintly Pius X, with whom, through his office of Secretary of State, he was thrown into intimate relations. It is with almost painful interest that we read of the strange and sudden working of Providence through the blows, twice repeated, which shattered the hopes of young Merry del Val and definitely put an end to all possibility of living the life which he had ambitioned —the life of a parish priest in a slum district.

F. A. Forbes, author, among several other works, of a popular Life of Pius X, has succeeded, with rare sureness of touch and subtle skill, in painting a portrait so lifelike that, when we close the book, we feel that Cardinal Merry del Val is a personal acquaintance of our own. We would suggest that the book should be longer, and we hope for a second edition which will contain further documents throwing light on the spiritual life of the Cardinal. The publishers are to be congratulated on the production of this delightful book, which is enriched by two excellent portraits.

G. S.

LEONARDO DA VINCI. By Clifford Bax. London: Peter Daveis. 1932. 5s. net.

This small book reflects no credit on its author and adds little or nothing to the fame of its subject. Such an immense literature

has grown up about the enigmatic and many-sided genius Leonardo da Vinci that there is no excuse for another book, which contains nothing new in the way of research and is even inaccurate about ascertainable facts.

Mr. Bax confesses a considerable debt to *Leonardo the Florentine* by Mrs. Rachael Annand Taylor, and lauds her "inebriating prose." Its effect on him has not been happy.

Readers acquainted with Leonardo's art will be surprised to find that Mr. Bax excludes from a list of the nine surviving pictures by or attributed to him the great "St. Jerome" of the Vatican Gallery, which is one of the three pictures which all competent scholars of pictorial art agree in assigning to the Master. They will be further surprised to read that "Botticelli . . . was ordered by the Council to make official drawings" of the Pazzi Conspirators "after they had been hanged—just as a Press photographer might now be dispatched to make a record of some historical event." What Mr. Bax calls 'official drawings' were in fact large frescoes on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico in Florence.

His critical temper is well exemplified by the assertion: "It is quite clear that by this time he possessed the extraordinary gift for extracting the maximum of reputation from a minimum of achievement—which, in our day, we associate with so many Irish authors."

An unduly large part of this little book is taken up with curious speculations as to the possibility of Leonardo having been a sexual pervert. Freud's celebrated and unsavoury pamphlet on the subject induces the surprising statement that "his opinion upon a question of this kind has almost the authority of a Papal pronouncement."

The bibliographical note comprises fourteen items, but makes no mention either of Dr. J. P. Richter's *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci* or of Dr. E. Muntz's two magnificent quarto volumes on *Leonardo da Vinci, Artist, Thinker and Man of Science*, both classics on their subject. THOMAS BODKIN

Classics

AESCHYLUS: THE PROMETHEUS BOUND. Edited, with Introduction, Commentary, and Translation, by George Thomson. Cambridge: University Press. 1932. 12s. 6d.

MR. THOMSON, who is Lecturer in Classics through the medium of Irish in University College, Galway, has produced a very rich and learned commentary on a play which continues to arouse more interest than most Greek tragedies. His translation, in which the

dialogue appears in blank verse and the lyrics in an accentual metre closely following that of the original, is close, subtle, and while hardly rising to the Shakespearean phrasing of Headlam's *Agamemnon*, yet often succeeds in capturing some of the beauty of the original. We might instance, as an illustration, his rendering of the first words spoken by Prometheus, a famous "purple patch":—

> "O Divine Sky and swiftly-winging Breezes
> O River-springs, and multitudinous gleam
> Of smiling Ocean"——

His Introduction is at once conservative and original. He vigorously defends the authenticity of the play against the recent tumultuous onslaught of Wilhelm Schmid, while himself dating it to a period later than the *Oresteia*, the last two years of the poet's life. In an Appendix he prints the fragments of the *Prometheus Unbound* and the one known line of the *Firebearer*, but strangely omits both the Argument prefixed to the play in the Medicean MS. and the fragments, such as they are, of the other Prometheus-play produced as satyr-drama with the *Persae*, which have their uses as evidence in the reconstruction of the trilogy. His text, which includes two emendations made by the late Walter Headlam and a third accepted from Hartung by that authority, is otherwise very much that of the standard modern editors, Wilamowitz and Mazon.

We are pleased to note incidentally that in his defence against Schmid he takes up the cudgels also for the much-maligned last speech of Antigone in Sophocles' play of that name, and produces, we think for the first time in print, a parallel for its theme from Irish folklore. The theme is in fact universal as folklore, and occurs also in Sanskrit epic, as Pischel has shown. Our chief criticism of Mr. Thomson's valuable work is that it is like much English scholarship, a little too individualist. From the point of view of the student it would have been a good deal improved by the inclusion of a brief bibliography of recent work, especially that of Continental scholars, on the play. Indeed, some of that work might have been dealt with in Mr. Thomson's Introduction: we may mention particularly the clever article by F. Focke in *Hermes* for 1930, in which the theory is maintained with much skill that the *Prometheus Bound* never had any other sequel than the *Prometheus Unbound* and that it was written for production in Sicily. We do not think Focke has by any means proved his theory, but he produces some considerations, notably the extreme brevity and paucity of the lyrics, and the mention

only of Ge and Herakles as extra characters in the Greek Argument, which appear to have weight.

Mr. Thomson is a pupil of Mr. J. T. Sheppard, and follows his methods of analysis and interpretation. These methods are undoubtedly derived from sound principles; but they seem to one reader at any rate to err by excess of result, and to give the impression that their wielders are sometimes trying to hear the grass growing. Such methods, for example, as the analysis of every speech, even of the fragment preserved by Cicero, into three parts which balance each other, and the search for word-echoes which are given a dramatic significance—a search reminiscent of the exploded "responsions" once discovered all over Pindar—are apt to overload a commentary with unnecessary burdens. On the other hand, Mr. Thomson emulates the wide reading of Headlam in search of linguistic and other parallels, and collects much valuable material from such little-read authors as Hippocrates and the Orphic poems. His reconstruction of the lost plays is ingenious and plausible, but leaves us in doubt whether he does not crowd too much into them as compared with the admittedly not over-dramatic *Prometheus Bound* itself. We think him anyhow thoroughly sound in his explanation of the evolution of Zeus and in his refusal to countenance either a puppet-Prometheus or a motionless Chorus. His book is beautifully printed, and the new Greek type adds to its intrinsic value and attractiveness. M. T.

Education

LES SCIENCES ET L'ART DE L'EDUCATION.

(1) *La Méthode des Tests.* Par René Nihard. 13fr.

(2) *La Formation sociale dans l'Enseignement secondaire.* Par Jean Jaouen, M.S. 12fr. Juvisy: Editions du Cerf. 1932.

THESE works are part of a new series of manuals, Catholic in inspiration and in aim, which have in view a combination of the new and the old in the science and art of Education. Why Education should, in the title of the series, be presented as a conglomerate of sciences is not made clear. There is one Science, one Art: there is no need of a multiplication of sources for that Art, any more than in Law or in Medicine.

M. Nihard provides a clear and well-ordered, if rapid, survey of the methods by which this distinctively French device of Binet, the evaluation of intelligence in children, has become an American field of commercial exploitation. The account of manifold procedures given us will be useful in many ways. But there is no adequate presentation of the serious objections raised, even

in America, to the value of these much exploited processes. His concluding pages show that certain dangers are prevalent throughout ; but these very brief and slight paragraphs do not remove the impression of uncritical acceptance which results from the reading of the preceding two hundred pages. The most representative workers in this American field have been driven, in quite recent years, to limit their claims. " Intelligence Tests test what they test" is the cautious affirmation of one leader, while Rugg has fully admitted the absence of even elementary scientific procedure in the vast mass of so-called experiments done in the United States. M. René Nihard, in the final section of his work, makes in more general terms much the same admission, and in particular concedes that the objectivity claimed for them, as contrasted with ordinary school and public examinations, is often much to seek.

The volume on Social Education in French secondary schools bears all the marks of Sulpician doctrine allied to practice. Most serviceable to the class teacher will be the sections of Chapter III on the commandeering of general studies in the cause of social discipline. Based on the social teaching of the three last Popes, on St. Thomas and on Aristotle, the positive leadership of the teacher in the class is well developed in Chapter VII. The other sections of the work of M. Jaouen are in close accord with these central passages, and the incidental and always guarded use made of such writers as Dewey and Oscar Wilde continually testifies to the sureness of touch of the experienced educator and writer. There is perhaps too frequent an assumption that the providential role of secondary pupils is to be the guides and advisers of all other scholars from various schools. This assumption is far from being realised in actual life, and the functions should often, on sheer qualifications alone, be reversed. Again, the boarding school is much too often assumed to be the normal form and setting for secondary studies. This is nowhere valid, even at the present day, in Catholic education, and the actual basis of statistical facts, in this respect, should be given fuller application in all plans for the education of Catholic youth for social service. T. C.

Fiction

ADVENTURE ISLAND. By Fergal McGrath, S.J. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1932. 3s. 6d.

We have always suffered from a scarcity of story-books for Irish boys and girls, that is to say story-books that are Irish in much

the same way as books of this class published in England or in the United States are English or American as the case may be. This does not mean that the scene need always be laid in Ireland nor that the theme should be drawn from Irish life or Irish history—still less that politics should enter into the tale—but at least that an Irish point of view should be taken for granted and that Irish ideals should be at least respected.

Books coming up even to these modest requirements are, as I have said, rare. Ten years ago the writer attempted a list of *Irish Story-Books for Boys and Girls* which first appeared in these pages and was afterwards published in pamphlet form.[1] He could discover but four school stories, only one of which was concerned with a Catholic college. Home stories numbered fourteen, adventure stories twenty-two, and humorous stories about a score. Historical tales were a little more numerous. About fifty could be scraped together, but by no means all of these were written expressly for boys. Some forty or fifty stories for girls, a few fairy tale books, and some miscellaneous stories made up the reckoning. Altogether, though not entirely negligible, it was a meagre collection in comparison with the hundreds of attractive books for the young that are published every year in England and America. And if the list were to be re-edited after a lapse of ten years, there would be little enough to add. The principal items would be three school stories with Irish schools as settings—*Flood-Tide* by Father M. Bodkin, S.J., *The Boys of Ben Eadar* by Father H. Gaffney, O.P., and *The Last Lap* by Father Fergal McGrath, S.J., a writer from whose pen we have now before us *Adventure Island.*

As the title perhaps sufficiently indicates, it is not a school story but a story of open-air adventure and that in a very unusual setting—an island off the Galway coast. Let us say at once that it has all the elements of a capital story for boys—boy heroes with genuine boy minds, swift narrative, a touch of mystery, breathless situations with a realistic feeling of danger, and the successful emergence of the heroes from a very tight corner. It was rather a novel idea to bring a young Austrian and his tutor to stay with the Meldons on Taylor's Hill. From the first there is something unaccountable about them. Whilst at a tiny fishing village on the Galway coast the pair, who are out for a cycle ride with Brian Meldon, are pursued by three foreign desperadoes and have to flee hurriedly in a fishing smack to Inishmaulin.

The situation now becomes exciting ; but we have no intention

[1] Dublin : Irish Messenger. 1922. 2d.

of revealing the plot. It will be enough to say that, besides these elements of a book for boys, there is something more, a something that will not in an Irish boy's eyes detract from the rest. The writer does not stop in order to preach or to draw the moral. Such good impression as the reading may produce on the mind is the natural outcome of the story itself and of the picture of simple island folk which it contains. As it does not inculcate religious lessons, neither does it lecture on nationality. But a thoroughly Irish atmosphere is present none the less. We have nothing but praise for this excellent story. But why do not some of the laity write Irish books for boys? S. J. B.

THE VALLEY OF THE WILD SWANS. By J. H. Pollock (An Pilibín). Dublin: Talbot Press. 1932. 5s.

SIR REDMOND INTERVENES. By Mary Cronin. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1932. 5s.

LEAVES OF MYRTLE. By Annie M. P. Smithson. pp. 284. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1932. 5s.

If there be anyone in contemporary Ireland who merits the title of Maecenas of Irish letters it is surely Mr. W. G. Lyon of the Talbot Press. Timid first novelists and budding poets find in him a kindly patron, ready to satisfy their ambition to see themselves in print. Many a would-be author has he launched on the sea of literature. If his enterprise were rewarded now and then by a best-seller on the scale of certain novels in England and America—well, we should say: "He has had his reward." But alas the Irish public is neither numerous nor wealthy enough to reward publishers in that way, and outside Ireland Irish novels are a drug in the market, unless—but Mr. Lyon does not ambition circulation along *those* lines. The other reward of a publisher is the discovery of literary genius, and that reward has occasionally crowned the efforts of the Talbot Press. But quite apart even from that, Mr. Lyon has for many years past been supplying Irish readers with literature of a high standard—clean, national in tone, very moderate in price, and for the most part of good literary quality. It is something to be proud of.

These remarks are occasioned by a batch of books which lie before me for review and by one of them—the first named—in particular. Dr. Pollock, who now for the first time writes over his real name, is (if I may say so) one of Mr. Lyon's discoveries. As An Pilibín he has during the past few years published, one after the other, a number of slender volumes of prose and verse—*The*

Hills of Dublin, Smoking Flax, The Secret Altar, Irish Ironies. The last-named, a series of poignant little tragedies, was an earnest of the author's power. Now he has given us a full-length, or almost full-length, novel. Its theme is the brief and seemingly futile life of Hugh Tobin from his childhood in Stephen's Green and Killiney, through his short-lived romance in Donegal, to his early death. As a background we have a picture, sketched with deft touches and with quiet humour, of Irish life as it fell within the limited circle of Hugh's experience.

But there is something more than this. The few happenings of Hugh's short life—as are perhaps, seen rightly, the events of any human life—seem to be symbols of bigger things, of the social, religious, political problems of the Ireland of our day. There is the "mixed" marriage—Hugh's father was a Protestant. There are the conflicting ideals—Hugh first discovers national Ireland from the humble relatives of his nurse. There is that strange anomaly—a Protestant body which even still calls itself the Church of Ireland. The author does not argue. He depicts the pathetic isolation and futility of the well-meaning parson and his wife in an overwhelmingly Catholic district in Donegal.

It is a sad little story, with the symbolic cry of the curlew sounding through it like a refrain. At the end, of all the personages of the story only a bereaved mother and a young widow are left. But there is nothing sordid, nothing heartless or hopeless about its tragedy. The style is charming, with exquisite descriptions of nature. If the book has a fault it is that the love story in Donegal is almost two idyllic and the dialogue soars too easily into poetry.

Lastly, the publishers have given the book a form every way worthy of its contents.

Sir Redmond Intervenes is one of those first novels of which the Talbot Press has published so many. It is a story of the course of true love and, if it does not run smooth at first, we feel that all is sure to come right in the end. The only real obstacle is the family pride of irascible, lovable old Sir Redmond, whose temper, by the way, is the principal feature of the book. But when his son's intended proves such a nice girl, and, above all, when it is discovered that her father is really the son of a lord and her mother the daughter of an earl, the obstacles vanish.

I have left myself no space to speak of the third book in the batch, but happily there is no need of many words. Miss Smithson has long ago conquered for herself a numerous clientele and keeps it faithful. Her heroine, this time, is not a nurse; but, if she is

not, the two heroes are doctors. Myrtle is torn between the two, between inclination and the sense of duty. The tone, as ever, is Catholic and national. The scene is laid in Dublin and in "Baldarrig" near Ballina. S. J. B.

History

THE CLONGOWES RECORD. By Rev. T. Corcoran, S.J. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1932. 10s. 6d.

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY HANDBOOK. Edited by Rev. T. Corcoran, S.J. Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles. 1932. Pp. 288.

To edit two such volumes in a single year proves the surprising energy of Father Corcoran. Both volumes are, of course, specialised and likely to make appeal to those who have some connection with the two institutions—perhaps to raise a slight feeling of hostility in those who have not. But the first fifty pages of the Clongowes Record have a far wider interest. To me its interest was enthralling. It gives the history of the Catholic struggle for education in the three centuries before Clongowes was founded and of the part the Jesuit Fathers played in that struggle, setting up a school and perhaps a little oratory now in a mud hovel in the country, now in a slum street in Dublin; and the institution at once flourished with some shred of toleration, till it was in due time suppressed and handed over to its Protestant rivals. This was the history of Back-lane University, for instance, in due course handed over to Trinity College.

In all these pages Fr. Corcoran writes with a pathos and suppressed power that would seem to point him out as the proper author of a work on the penal laws, that might be a counterpart to Professor Corkery's *Hidden Ireland.* Irishmen have been too much inclined to take the polite glossings over of the rationalist Lecky as the true account of the lives of their ancestors. Some account of the penal struggle from the point of view of the men who fought it, and may now be said to have won it, is long overdue. In these fifty pages, approaching the matter from one angle only, that of education, Fr. Corcoran lifts the curtain for a moment. He shows us the hedge-schools, the Jesuits engaged in giving education to the poorest, fighting bravely against overwhelming odds (including even, it might be said, the Papacy) during the half century of the suppression, constantly being defeated, as constantly coming back to the fight.

At long last the break comes in the clouds. Education for Catholics is no longer a crime. At least it is no longer punished in

the criminal courts. And Rice and Kenney, personal friends, set about their great works respectively—the one founding the Irish Christian Brothers, the other the Irish Jesuit college of Clongoweswood. Did they foresee, I wonder, that a century or so later Irish politics would be carried on by two teams, one picked for the most part from Clongoweswood and the other, with one exception, from the schools founded by Rice.

This brings us to the latter part of Fr. Corcoran's work. It is far more interesting to read of the struggle of Catholics for education than of the education provided, either at Clongoweswood or the National University, after the struggle had ended. The carrying out of an ideal in real life is always inevitably unsatisfactory. To how many of those dead in these two records has the unerring judgment of posterity already attached some such epithet as "snob," even when it has not attached any worse one. Such things are inevitable in the practical working out of any system. We see, for instance, Daniel O'Connell giving very precise instruction for the education of Morgan John O'Connell. Fr. Corcoran publishes the letter for the first time. Have you ever read Arthur Griffith's sizing up of that young man? Brighter names, of course, shine forth in both places—Thomas Francis Meagher in the Clongowes Record, Thomas MacDonagh in that of the National University. Kevin Barry is not, I think, insisted on.

As a record of work done, that of the National University must have surprised people by its extent. But both records suffer from the defect inevitable in all such official publications. They lack the small personal, human, semi-scandalous touches, that really make the account of teaching institutions endurable to the ordinary reader. A considerable account is given of Fr. James Daly of Clongowes, for instance, without any mention of his pandy-bat. The account of Clongowes is much the more human. The full story of the old game of "Jesuit" or "gravel" football, which has been allowed to fall into disuse, is very interesting. It was killed by "Soccer" and Rugby round about the early nineties. As to University College (Dublin) I have never been asked but two questions by outsiders, and they were always the same questions: "How many students have you?" "Have they a good Rugby team?" As to what activities the other 1,985 students are engaged in, the public seems to be little interested. The readers of Fr. Corcoran will receive a full answer to the first question, but none at all to the second. Nor will the man interested in Hurley get any more information. The social life

of the University is scarcely dealt with at all. Sometime or other someone will devote himself to compiling a more intimate, and therefore a more interesting, record of National University life.

ARTHUR E. CLERY

[Since this review was written, we regret to have to record the death of its author. Though Professor Clery was not a frequent contributor to *Studies* in recent years, his death is a serious loss to us; for his articles were always interesting, stimulating and original. He always viewed things from an angle that was piquantly Cleryesque, and he found it difficult to view anything except *sub specie Hiberniae*. He had one fierce passion, which seemed to grow stronger with the disillusionments of age and the disappointments of frustrated hopes; it was his burning love of Ireland—a love characteristically expressed in his last wishes. If love of country is to be measured by the sacrifices which men are willing to make for it, then Professor Clery stands high among patriots. It is not necessary to defend the wisdom of all his words and actions; but his unselfish and unbending allegiance to high principle must command the admiration of us all. If this noble side of his character becomes an inspiration to the young, whose good he always had so much at heart, he will have gained the reward and the honour most coveted by him. In the space of this brief note it is, of course, impossible to do justice to his life and work; but we hope to publish a fuller and more intimate appreciation in our next issue.—EDITOR].

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIAEVAL HISTORY. Edited by the late J. R. Tanner, Litt.D.; C. W. Previté-Orton, Litt.D.; Z. N. Brooke, Litt.D. *Vol. VII. Decline of Empire and Papacy.* Cambridge: University Press. 1932. 50s.

THIS seventh volume of the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* brings the story from the lifetime of Dante down to the end of the great schism. Only one more volume is thus needed to bridge the gap between the end of this volume and the point where the *Cambridge Modern History* began thirty years ago under Lord Acton's editorship. Views that were then accepted as well established have long since been discredited; and the hard and fast line between Europe of the Middle Ages and Europe of the Renaissance and Reformation, which used to be drawn through the middle of the fifteenth century, is one of the traditions of the past that has now been generally abandoned. Indeed one cannot help feeling that in many ways this seventh volume would have made a

natural close to the story of mediaeval civilisation. At the end of the fourteenth century both the mediaeval Empire and the mediaeval Papacy had been humbled in the dust; and there is much truth in Abbot Butler's claim that the true dividing line between mediaeval and modern Europe is to be found in the Council of Constance. That Council, with its group-system of voting by "nations" and its deliberate attempt at a reform of the Church's constitution, which would have left the Papacy a mere tool in the hands of Cardinals who took their orders from the monarchs of the new national states, does indeed mark a definite breach with the traditions of the mediaeval world. And the presence of Poggio at the meetings of the Council is a reminder that the Italian Renaissance was already well developed by the end of the fourteenth century. New ideas and new learning had indeed come flooding in since the days of Dante's *Divina Commedia* and *De Monarchia*.

The contrast between Dante's ideal world and the very human generation in which he lived makes a natural opening for this volume. It is all the more regrettable that the late Mr. Armstrong of Queen's College, Oxford, to whom this chapter was entrusted, has allowed his passion for the picturesque and piquant details of Italian biography to mar his account of a very important period in European history. Take, for example, Dante's great contemporary, Pope Boniface VIII. For Mr. Armstrong he is "the villain of the play," whose mad pride, stopping little short of idolatry for his own person, explains all that follows. Summing up with a few characteristically sweeping statements the whole controversy as to Boniface's private life, he paints the picture of a Renaissance pagan, "doctrinally a sceptic, but a believer in amulets and magic. It is probable that for him, as later for Alexander VI, the moral code had little meaning." Such a critic is not likely to do justice to the principles involved in the famous controversy with the French king. Mr. Armstrong seems more anxious to stir our sense of the incongruous by his description of a Pope who threw ashes at the head of a kneeling Archbishop and kicked a German envoy in the face. Dante's poem, it is true, whets our appetite for such startling incongruities; but the *Inferno* is not the safest guide to contemporary history. What was needed was surely a clear statement of the ideas for which Dante stands, a giant guarding the gateway from the mediaeval to the modern world.

In the second chapter of this volume Professor Romolo Caggese of Milan gives an admirable sketch of Italian history from 1313

to 1414, which adds to our regret that the chapter on Dante was not entrusted to his competent scholarship. Professor Blok of Leyden was to have written on German history during Dante's lifetime; but his sudden death left the task to Professor Waugh of Montreal, who prefaces his account of a dreary period in German history with the reminder of its constitutional importance. The generation which saw the revival of imperial claims by Henry VII decided the fundamental question as to the survival or disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire after the long years of the Great Interregnum. Was this survival a calamity for the German nation, as is commonly supposed? Professor Waugh argues that without the Empire the German Crown could not have survived at all, whilst the mischief done to German national consolidation by the connection between Emperor and Pope was negligible, "partly because the monarchy was so weak that there was not much left for it to lose." The Golden Bull of Charles IV accepts the new situation in the spirit of *Realpolitik*.

Most of the political history contained in this volume makes dreary reading, though Professor Hilda Johnston is to be congratulated on her lucid account of French and English history at the opening of the century. Mr. Manning carries the English section on through the reigns of Edward III and Richard II to the age of Wyclif: his account of that great revolutionary's thought and teaching needs to be read in the light of contemporary ascetical and mystical literature. "Theologians still spoke of grace," writes Mr. Manning, "but it was a grace so exactly and so certainly confined in official channels that it seemed rather to deserve the name of law." The judgment is fair enough as a criticism of that general tendency to stress Canon Law at the expense of the interior life of Catholic Christianity which is so marked in many of the writers of the age. But the generation that saw Wyclif saw also Juliana of Norwich and Ruysbroek, Saint Bridget of Sweden and Saint Catherine of Siena—not to mention the first appearance of the "New Devotion" in the teaching of Gerard Groote at Deventer. The *caritas Dei*, to which Wyclif appealed as the inspiration of his teaching, was at work in hearts that were less bitter and less proud than the heart of this Yorkshire ecclesiastic. And it is only right that this volume should close with a chapter on "Mediaeval Mysticism" from the pen of Miss Evelyn Underhill, who gets here a fair field for her wide reading and sympathetic appreciation of mediaeval mystical literature.

Other chapters which deserve special notice are Professor

McIlwain's long chapter on Mediaeval Estates and Parliaments; Dr. Roth's chapter on the Jews in the Middle Ages; and Miss Eileen Power's chapter on "Peasant Life and Rural Conditions." Miss Power contrasts the rising prosperity of the peasant class during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the general misery that followed the disasters of the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War. The mediaeval peasant was the butt of those clerkly writers from whom our literary tradition is derived; but, as Miss Power truly says, "these inarticulate and despised masses had two achievements to their credit which are worthy to be set beside the greatest works of art and literature and government produced by the Middle Ages. They fed and colonised Europe; and slowly, painfully, laboriously they raised themselves from serfdom to freedom, laying hands as they did upon a good proportion of that land which they loved with such a passionate and tenacious devotion." A. G.

HISTOIRE DE L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN. Par A. A. Vasiliev. Traduit du russe par P. Brodin, A. Bourguina. Paris: A. Picard. 2 vols. 1932. 135 francs.

THESE sumptuously produced and excellently illustrated volumes are the translation, revised and enlarged, of a work which has already appeared in English in an American series. The first volume of the English version, which appeared in 1928, has been out of print for a considerable time. Professor Vasiliev is one of the chief authorities for the history of the Byzantine Empire, and unites in a remarkable manner the numerous qualifications needed for his work. A Russian himself and therefore at home in the various Slav languages, he has done very important work on the Arabic sources for the early Mohammedan period, and has a perfect command of the vast literature in French, German, English, Italian, Rumanian, and Spanish which has been devoted especially during the last thirty years, to the many aspects of the long stretch of history between Constantine the first and Constantine the last.

In a brief preface to this work M. Charles Diehl, himself the most eminent of French Byzantinists, explains wherein its great utility consists. It is the only complete history of the Eastern Roman Empire on a considerable scale in any language. There are many valuable shorter histories, such as the charming one written by M. Diehl himself. But except for two Russians and the late Professor Bury, no one has attempted in recent times to cover the whole field which Gibbon polished off in little more than a

single contemptuous chapter. M. Vasiliev has not of course the amplitude of Bury's great monographs, but he succeeds in getting in a wonderful amount of detail. He has the further advantage of not confining himself, as the Cambridge Medieval History regrettably does, to political events and to a general disquisition on the character of Byzantine civilisation. He pays as much attention to the history of art and literature as to that of politics or religion. Hardly anywhere else, outside of Krumbacher's great storehouse and such momumental works as those of Diehl and Dalton on Byzantine art, will the student find these subjects treated so fully. Incidentially M. Vasiliev adds not a little to the latest edition of Krumbacher, dealing with certain authors whose texts have only recently been published. His bibliographies are full and admirably drawn up, and in them as well as in a satisfying apparatus of notes he brings the study of his subject down to the present year.

In addition his book is prefaced by a history, in fifty pages or so, of modern Byzantine studies, in which particular attention is paid to the very valuable contributions of two generations of Russian scholars to this field. M. Vasiliev's method is to devote a section to each of the great dynasties and, after a brief chronological survey, to discuss at length external and internal policy, religion, literature, learning and art. In each chapter he quotes freely from other authorities, and wherever a particular problem arises, is careful to give at some length the different views of different modern writers before summing up with his own. Thus his work is not merely a simple historical narrative but a scientific treatise of the highest order. As is only natural in a work of nearly a thousand pages, there are a few slight misprints here and there—for instance the name of the great German historian Seeck is several times misspelt—and we have noticed one apparent muddle in the order of events on p. 468 of Vol. I. M. Vasiliev does not discuss the large general question, so much debated between, for instance, M. Diehl and Mr. Norman Baynes, as to whether the Empire was in its middle and later phases more "Oriental" or Roman-Hellenistic in civilisation. His method does not lend itself to such generalities, but he gives the student plenty of material on which to judge for himself.

This book was apparently finished too early to take account of the most recent and most probable theories as to the etymology of the famous *labarum* of Constantine the Great or of Istanbul, the Turkish name for Constantinople. Its most original and valuable part is not its first volume, where the ground has been

already well gone over, but its second, particularly the sections dealing with the Empire of Nicaea and of the Palaeologi, where a great amount of fresh work has been done in recent years and where much still remains to be done. Students of general European history will find M. Vasiliev's chapters on the Crusades, on the early history of the Southern Slav States, and on the influence of Byzantium on the Western Renaissance particularly helpful from their own point of view.

The first volume has its own excellencies; there is hardly anything better in the whole book, for instance, than the discussion of the much-argued problems arising out of the conversion of Constantine. In only one respect do we find M. Vasiliev rather inadequate. His account of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches is hastily and too sketchily done, and he gives a much more favourable picture of Michael Caerularios than does, for example, M. Bréhier in the fourth volume of the Cambridge Medieval History. On the other hand, what he has to say of the development of the Themes, of the early tolerance of Islam, of the reverse side to the activities of the generally lauded Isaurian Emperors, of the rival pretensions to world dominion as between Manuel Comnenos and Frederick Barbarossa, and of the part played by Bulgarian nationalism in the restoration of the Empire after 1204 is full of interest and suggestiveness. Perhaps nothing emerges more strikingly, in all the long course of history that his work covers, than the eternal struggle between the Emperors and the great landed proprietors, whose selfishness had been mainly responsible in the fifth century for the Roman collapse in the West. It would almost be a presumption on our part to recommend so learned and magistral a survey as this to the interest of all students of history.

M. T.

THE MISSION OF RINUCCINI, NUNCIO EXTRAORDINARY TO IRELAND, 1645-1649. By Michael J. Hynes, M.A., Ph.D., Docteur en Sciences Historiques (Louvain), Professor of St. Mary's Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1932. pp. xxiv+334. 12s. 6d.

THOUGH the Irish War which began in 1641 and lasted till 1652 is admittedly one of the most complicated periods of Irish History, the obscurity that surrounds many of the important events is certainly not due to lack of contemporary records, as a glance at published collections of Aiazzi and Sir John Gilbert will prove. Indeed it is often their very abundance, not to speak of their

partisan character, that tends to create confusion and obscure the issues.

Rome did not immediately identify itself with the cause of the Irish Confederates, but Urban VIII in response to their representations sent an agent, Peter Francis Scarampi, in 1643 to examine and report on the state of affairs. Scarampi detected straightway the weak point in the Confederation : the Catholics of the Pale were already tired of the war and ready to make peace if only they could obtain toleration for the private exercise of their religion, while on the other hand the old Irish were eager to continue the war until they secured full freedom of conscience and the public establishment of the Catholic Church.

As a result of these divergent sentiments, military operations languished or ceased ; but the Confederation renewed its appeals to Rome for recognition and financial aid. In consequence the new Pope, Innocent X, appointed John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, Nuncio Extraordinary to Ireland on 15th of March, 1645, and instructed him among other things not to agree to any peace that did not include the public establishment of Catholic Church.

Rinuccini arrived in Ireland on 21st of October 1645. He was received with great reverence and enthusiasm, but after a short period of external official harmony the fundamentally different aspirations of the two parties reappeared. This gave Ormond his chance of driving a wedge in between both factions. Rinuccini strove hard to preserve unity on the terms on which he had been invited to Ireland, but Ormond succeeded in splitting the Confederation ; and the Nuncio, after excommunicating the Ormondists (27 May 1648), left Ireland on 25th of February 1649.

Bitter controversies arose about the prudence of the Nuncio's conduct and the validity of his excommunications and continued for many years. The adversaries, however, did not dispute on equal terms. The Ormondists could publish what they liked, while the defenders of the Nuncio could only reply by writings that remained in manuscript or appeared in rare and expensive books published on the Continent. With the exception, therefore, of the *Aphorismical Discovery* published by Sir John Gilbert (Dublin 1879-80) the views of the Nuncio's party are practically inaccessible to students.

The material, however, exists. When Rinuccini left Ireland he took with him copies of all official communications and his own voluminous correspondence. Between 1661 and 1666 all these records were handed over to two Irish Capuchins, Richard

O Ferall and Robert O Connell, to be reduced to the form of a consecutive history. With admirable skill these two scholars, masters of an easy flowing Latin not devoid of charm, accomplished their formidable task, and without breaking the flow of the narrative succeeded in introducing *in extenso* copies of all the valuable documents, many of which are not to be found elsewhere.

Their original manuscript in six folio volumes is now preserved in the Trivulzian Library in Milan. Four copies, the one derived from the other, are also known to exist. Carte, the author of the *Life of James, Duke of Ormond* (London, 1736), had access to a copy made for the Earl of Leicester, and draws extensively upon it; but while extracting anything that could be twisted to the justification of Ormond or the condemnation of his opponents, he suppressed regularly everything that told in favour of the Nuncio. And so it came to pass that the Ormondist view of the controversy has held almost undisputed possession of this field of Irish history for two centuries.

Recently the Irish Government decided to publish the complete history direct from the original manuscript in Milan, and the first volume has been promised for this year. Meanwhile Dr. Hynes presents us with a scholarly study of the whole material. He has worked through the history of O Ferall and O Connell, has given us a full and faithful summary of everything contained in the six folio volumes at Milan, and has illustrated the story by notes from other collections. Nor will the forthcoming publication of the original history lessen the usefulness of Dr. Hynes's work. The Latin original will be beyond the attainment of many students of history, the cost beyond the limits of many a student's means, and the very size of the original will demand the help of a guide. Dr. Hynes supplies that guidance. With laborious accuracy he has summarized the whole story of Rinuccini's mission, keeping close to the original and giving references for every statement, and has thus deserved the gratitude of all students of Irish History.

JOHN MAC ERLEAN

HENRY VII'S RELATIONS WITH SCOTLAND AND IRELAND, 1485-1498. By Agnes Conway, M.A. With a Chapter on the Acts of Poynings' Parliament by Edmund Curtis, M.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1932. 12s. net.

THE history of both Ireland and Scotland during the reign of the first Tudor has hitherto not attracted much attention; in fact the period has been almost ignored by historians. Yet, as regards Ireland especially, it is of considerable importance, since it was the

beginning of the real conquest of the country by England through the curbing of the Anglo-Irish oligarchy. Miss Conway's book, therefore, fills a real gap. By the ordinary reader it will perhaps be considered somewhat dry; but, as a piece of solid historical work, it can scarcely be praised too highly. As regards financial matters the author is especially valuable. With minute care she has investigated the accounts of the various public offices, comparing them with one another, noting discrepancies and omissions and explaining the inference to be drawn from each part and from the whole. We end by getting a surprisingly complete picture of this aspect of the administration of the part of Ireland which was then really subject to the English Crown—namely, the Pale shires and some of the towns and fortresses.

The chapter by Professor Curtis on the Acts of Poynings' Parliament is quite the most complete account of that important body of legislation which has yet appeared. Although many of the laws then passed remained a dead letter for almost two generations; yet, as he points out, "the famous Statutes bringing Dublin's government and Parliament under imperial control remained intact. . . . The provisions for the maintenance of the army and for defence provide a model which lasted all through Tudor times. How the revenue could be increased had been indicated." Henry VII had sent Poynings to Ireland in the hope of his being able, not only to reduce the turbulent Anglo-Irish nobles to order, but also to extend the English power, in some degree at least, over the 'savage Irish.' The event showed that this programme was far too ambitious for the time and the circumstances. All that could be done was to make a beginning: to bring the Kildares, the Desmonds and the rest into some sort of at least nominal subjection to the Crown and, as to the Celtic Irish, to on the whole leave them alone, receiving graciously any 'submissions' which they might be pleased to offer, and concealing the conviction that these, as Henry VIII said of similar ones at a later date, "were not worth a penny."

Miss Conway's account of Perkin Warbeck's doings in Ireland and of his career generally is minute and interesting, but of Lambert Simnel, the earlier pretender, she says but little. This seems to be a pity, as Garrett Mor's action in calling a parliament in the boy's name and causing it to attaint those who refused to acknowledge him, while all the time he was himself supposed to hold the office of Henry's Lord Deputy, was perhaps the greatest piece of audacity of which that most audacious personage was guilty, and shows vividly how weak was the Crown's power in Ireland and what the all-but-Kingship of Kildare amounted to.

Polydore Virgil's statement that the 'savage Irish' were Perkin Warbeck's first supporters and that he easily persuaded them "to believe that he was the same very person [the *Duke of York*] whom he falsely fained and counterfeited" appears to be accepted by our author as true. But there is strong evidence against it. Warbeck first made his appearance in the city of Cork, the inhabitants of which were certainly not 'savage Irish.' The native annalists make no mention whatever of his doings, showing how little these interested the Celtic population. In the lists of his prominent adherents no Celtic name appears. It is certainly probable that the troops with which the pretender besieged Waterford were mainly native Irishmen; but we do not hear that they were led by any Irish chief. This shows plainly that they were mercenaries, who fought merely for pay and did not at all care whether the person who hired them was or was not the Duke of York—of whom, most likely, they had never in their lives heard. Polydore Virgil as well as Bernard André, also a contemporary—who besides this is guilty of other errors—makes similar statements regarding the Lambert Simnel affair, asserting that the native Irish supported this earlier pretender. But here too he seems to be wrong.

The chapters on Scotch affairs are chiefly occupied with the "duel between the nobles and the Crown," which filled the reign of James III and a considerable part of that of James IV. Henry VII, that able but extremely unattractive monarch, appears here mostly as fomenting the disturbance in order to weaken Scotland as a whole. We find him, now secretly and now openly, encouraging the rebel magnates—the Duke of Albany, the Earl of Athol, the Earl of Angus (known as "Bell-the-Cat") and the rest—while John Ramsay Lord Bothwell acted as his permanent spy at the Scotch Court. Certainly, the modest life-pension of 100 marks a year which Henry finally awarded to this personage was hardly enough earned.

A comparison between this contest (begun, of course, long before) and that which at this period and later was carried on in Ireland between the Anglo-Irish nobles and the Tudor sovereigns is interesting by both the resemblances and the contrasts which it shows. M. T. H.

AUSTRIA OF TO-DAY. By Victor Wallace Germains. London: Macmillan. 1932. 12s. 6d.

MR. GERMAINS has been at once singularly fortunate and unfortunate in the moment he chose for publication of his book.

Fortunate, for within a few weeks the deaths of Mgr. Seipel and Dr. Schober marked very definitely the end of a chapter in modern Austrian history, and so gave a certain completeness and unity to the book. Unfortunate, for his last chapter, *The New Crusade*, is a passionately expressed hope and appeal for England to lead the world back to prosperity by preaching the "Gospel of International Free Trade." It was evidently written before the "great betrayal" of last summer, and reads rather pathetically now. In this last chapter, indeed, Mr. Germains rather spoils an otherwise very good book. He expresses his beliefs that the cause of the post-war troubles in Europe "may be summed up in a single word—tariffs," and then gives us twenty pages or so of hysterical oratory condemning Protection and hymning Free Trade.

The book, apart from this, is really a very good account of the last twelve or fourteen years of Austrian history. It is accurate in its facts, well-ordered, fair and impartial, and often very illuminating in its criticisms. Its style is deliberately picturesque, perhaps at times a little too much so; but on the whole it is pleasant and easy to read. The chief characters, especially Dr. Schober (clearly the author's hero) and Mgr. Seipel, are sympathetically and carefully drawn. It may be doubted whether Mr. Germains maintained his sense of proportion in face of his admiration of Dr. Schober. The achievements of the Socialists at Vienna and their antichristian policy, the work of the Christian Social Party, the Heimatwehr movement, the rural life and organisation of the various provinces are not adequately treated. From the point of view of social-welfare laws and institutions, Austria has been since the last third of the 19th century a most instructive pioneer. It is a pity that such matters are not dealt with more fully in this volume. We should like to have seen, also, a fuller account of the development of the water-power of Austria and its effect on the revival or creation of small rural industries. But we are grateful for what Mr. Germains has given us. A very lovable people, a most beautiful country, a long and glorious historical tradition—and now cruelly and undeservedly suffering under crying injustices: we can well understand the author's passionate sympathy and chivalrous championing. E. J. C.

THE BLESSED EUCHARIST IN IRISH HISTORY. By Mrs. Thomas Concannon, D.Litt. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1932. 12s. 6d.

This book, prepared in anticipation of the Eucharistic Congress of this year, has more than a passing interest. It traces through

the ages, from the earliest times of Ireland's conversion to the Christian faith, the history of the devotion of her people to the Mass and the Blessed Sacrament. The author has been wise in devoting a larger amount of space to the earlier period than to the penal enactments of the 18th century, which text books have generally stressed unduly at the expense of the two preceding centuries.

The description of an Irish church, taken from Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, of the ceremonies used in the celebration of a solemn Mass and the symbolism of these, taken from the *Lebar Brecc* and the *Stowe Missal*, as also that of the consecration of a church are most interesting. Further on, we learn something of the methods of training and educating youths intended for the priesthood. Corporal punishment " with the scourge, the rod or the palm of the hand " was not spared when held to be required.

The Norman invasion and settlements in the 12th century made little change in all this; for the newcomers too were Catholics. For a while even after the Reformation, things, especially in remote parts of the country, went on much as before. We have a detailed description of the opening of Parliament in Dublin itself in 1541, and of the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost which accompanied it.

When, in the later 16th century, old Celtic Ireland was making its last stand, we find the chiefs O'Neill and O'Donnell never neglecting to have a solemn Mass offered in their camp before a battle. In the next generation the same practice was observed by O'Neill's nephew Eoghan Ruadh. On the eve of Benburb " the whole army went to confession and General Don Eugenio with the other captains received the Most Holy Sacrament."

With the reign of Edward VI in England Ireland's " fight for the Mass " began, and for some three hundred years, with but one brief interval, it continued.

In Mrs. Concannon's later chapters we read of the sufferings of many martyrs and confessors whose very names are new to most of us, as Father Maurice Kinrechtin executed at Clonmel in 1585, and Dame Eleanor Bermingham who died in prison the same year. An extract from the *Relatio* of Archbishop Kearney of Cashel gives us a vivid picture of the life of a hunted ecclesiastic in these days: " We go from one city to another dressed in secular clothes. . . . We pass from one house to another, even in the cities and towns. The journey is made at dawn or by night. It is at night that we perform all the sacred functions . . . celebrate Mass, give exhortations to the faithful, confer Holy Orders, administer the sacrament of Confirmation."

The persecution, however, failed to attain its object. In 1607 the Lord Deputy reports: "The priests land here secretly in every creek and port of the realm—the people in many parts resort to Mass in greater multitudes than for many years past."

The measures taken by the Puritans of the Commonwealth period were not more successful. Not only did the Irish at home remain faithful to the Church, but those deported to the Plantations in the West Indies and elsewhere preserved and spread the Faith. In a report made to his Superior by a Limerick Jesuit missioner about the middle of the 17th century he reports that, in the island of St. Kitts, he had a congregation of 3,000 souls. Under Charles II the persecution was much relaxed; but after the Revolution it was resumed, and the century-long night of what is called "the Penal Days" begins.

The picture is a sad one—although, in one sense, no chapter in all Ireland's history is more calculated to awaken feelings of just pride in Irish hearts. Now and then the gloom is relieved, as when a festivity at the boyhood's home of Charles O'Conor, destined to become in later days the most famous Catholic layman in Ireland, is described. Turlough O'Carolan, "the head of all the music of Ireland," was present, waiting to play at the Midnight Mass, for it was Christmas Eve. Inspired by the beautiful Irish rendering of the *Miserere* which the boy Charles had just composed, and which his uncle Dr. O'Rorke Bishop of Killaloe read aloud to the company, the bard took his harp and "presently the strains of one of his sweetest songs, *Donnachadh Mhic Cathail Oig*, filled the hall."

In conclusion, we must express our regret that, owing to some oversight or mischance it would seem, visitors to the Eucharistic Congress of last June were not given an opportunity of hearing Mrs. Concannon on a subject which she has made so particularly her own.

M. T. H.

Philosophy

ETHICS. By Nicolai Hartmann. Translated by Stanton Coit. Vol. III—Moral Freedom. London: Allen and Unwin. 1932. 12s. 6d.

This is the final volume of the translation of Nicolai Hartmann's *Ethics*. It deals with the problem of moral freedom, a problem which, in the logical order, should have been dealt with earlier, since freedom is a presupposition of ethics, but which is reserved for treatment here for practical reasons of exposition. The problem of freedom, Hartmann thinks, is the most difficult problem of

ethics. In order rightly to understand it we must first have a thorough grasp of the concrete problems ; we must have " attained lucidity in regard to the nature and content of moral principles."

Hartmann is convinced that " the whole significance of morality is abolished, if freedom be proved to be an illusion." Values, no doubt, would still survive, but they would not be specifically moral values. They would be, what Hartmann calls, " situational " values, due to " the confluence of ontological relationships," just as similar values adhere to things. Such values could not call forth " disapproval, contempt, indignation, or acceptance, respect or admiration." The whole significance of morality would be abolished. This, of course, is not universally admitted. But Hartmann is convinced that a clear formulation of the problem will show that the conclusion is inevitable and that what one finds on the other side is merely " the technique of brilliant formulations which cover up what is not understood."

It would not be possible in a brief review closely to follow the very elaborate and intricate argument by which the author attempts to establish his thesis. Attention, however, must be directed to some points of interest ; for, although his conclusion may be welcomed, many of his premises will not receive the same approval. Hartmann is so opposed to the Kantian ethics that it is curious to find him acknowledging indebtedness to Kant in connection with the present problem. Kant's treatment of the problem is valuable in two ways. He was the first clearly to state what the ethical problem of freedom really is ; and, although his solution of it, in the third antinomy, is not in itself satisfactory, still it gives the clue to the only adequate solution. " The older ethics was astonishingly superficial in treating the question of freedom. Ancient thinkers took freedom for granted as something self-evident, which clearly shows how little they knew of the metaphysical difficulties which they passed over in so doing." The Church Fathers and the Scholastics fell into the opposite error of making the problem too difficult. They were interested, as one might expect from theologians, in the problem of the relation of man's freedom to God, and to introduce this problem into ethics—which Hartmann (somewhat arbitrarily, as I think) supposes them to have done—is " particularly unfortunate." Kant, in separating the specifically ethical from the religious problem of freedom, gives us, apparently, the correct delimitation of the problem. As a merely historical statement all this is very disputable ; but Hartmann has the Hegelian weakness for clear-cut distinctions, a weakness which led Hegel himself to mis-

represent so much in the history of philosophy. Of course, Hartmann tells us later on that Kant himself rather over-simplified the problem, and apparently his onesidedness is to be corrected by combining his view with Scholasticism.

Kant not merely states the problem, he also gives us the *clue* to its solution. Hartmann cannot accept Kant's own solution in the third antinomy. This solution was peculiarly unhappy. Kant endeavours to have it both ways. On the one hand all human actions belong to the phenomenal world and are therefore, through and through, determined, enmeshed in an absolute causal nexus. But on the other side human actions belong to the noumenal world, to a kingdom of ends ; they issue from the moral self, and in this way they are absolutely free. Antinomies of this kind, if genuine, are not merely dangerous to philosophy ; they are suicidal. They introduce into the very core of metaphysics inherent and insuperable contradictions. To accept Kant's solution, as it stands, would be to accept his idealistic or transcendental metaphysics. And this Hartmann is not prepared to do. He thinks, however, that there lies concealed here " a most essential discovery." Abandoning Kant's metaphysics, we are left with the valuable conclusion that, besides the causal order, there is another, the moral order—a second stratum. In man the two strata are connected ; " the order of the second stratum strikes into that of the first." Something can be initiated here as by a first cause, which then fulfils itself in the mechanical causal series. Actions of this kind are moral, and they belong not to the " practical reason " or to any super-individual, noumenal consciousness, but to the human person as such. Hartmann solves the difficulty by the creation of a hierarchy, by supposing what he himself calls a " stratification." Obviously this is merely a statement that it *is* so, but he supposes that the statement is of such a nature that it will inevitably command assent. At all events it is all that he has to offer us. " As the problem of freedom stands to-day, we cannot attain a real and complete solution of it. . . . we never advance so far as actually to lift scepticism off its pivot."

It would be of the greatest interest to follow Hartmann in the development of his theory. His book abounds in acute observations. With many points a Thomist will find himself in complete agreement, as, for example, with what he calls " the second antinomy of freedom "—namely, that the will must be free in relation to the moral law itself, a point which Kant utterly failed to recognise. Again, his analysis of the fundamental conceptions of ethics—responsibility, the consciousness of guilt, and so forth—

abounds in striking and just conclusions. But we must keep a keenly critical mind throughout; for we constantly encounter principles that give us pause. Altogether his *Ethics* is a most stimulating book. D. O'Keeffe

ETUDES SUR LE PROBLEME DE DIEU DANS LA PHILOSOPHIE CONTEMPORAINE. By Régis Jolivet. Paris: Vitte. 1932. Pp. 240.

LA PHILOSOPHIE CHRETIENNE ET LA PENSEE CONTEMPORAINE. By Régis Jolivet. Paris: Téqui. 1932. Pp. 226. 15 francs.

CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY AND THOMISTIC PRINCIPLES. By Rev. Rudolph G. Bandas. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. 468. $4.50.

KNOWLEDGE AND OBJECT. By Edward F. Talbot, O.M.I. Washington. 1932. Pp. 115.

The two books by M. Jolivet and Dr. Bandas's work cover similar ground and supplement each other. In both cases the Thomistic system is confronted with contemporary theories. Both bring out the intrinsic excellence of St. Thomas's doctrines—his profound and lucid discussion showing up to great advantage in comparison with the vague, impressionist, and contradictory character of the modern theories. The introduction to Dr. Bandas's book, by Dr. Zybura, gives an account of the new Thomist movement; and parallel to this, M. Jolivet, in his smaller book, brings out the distinctive features of Thomism as a Christian philosophy, and traces the progress of neo-Thomism, especially in France. This powerful movement, carried on for a long period by a large array of scholarly writers, has made a deep impression, and has been one of the great influences in transforming French philosophy, giving it a realist and spiritualist outlook. M. Jolivet singles out Bergson and Blondel as leaders in the movement away from materialism, and refers to the recent latest book of Bergson as likely to have a beneficent influence on contemporary thought. "Materialism belongs decidedly to the past," M. Jolivet confidently tells us. This could not be said of philosophy in English-speaking countries.

M. Jolivet in his studies on the problem of God selects for discussion the views of three French philosophers—Brunschvicg, Parodi, and Ruyssen—as prominent examples of certain types of view—viz., "spiritualism without God," pantheism, and a modified theism. The discussion of Brunschvicg's doctrines is presented attractively in the form of an imaginary debate. The somewhat

diffuse and popular manner of treatment in the book does not take away from its thoroughness and instructiveness.

Dr. Bandas's book is much wider in scope. A large part of the work is taken up with the problems of the existence and nature of God, religious experience, revelation and dogma; but he also discusses the other aspects of Thomistic philosophy under the headings: fundamental principles, science and philosophy, idealism and the new realism, the philosophy of becoming, the philosophy of organism, philosophy of value, humanism. The views which he discusses are mainly those current in America. The book is very well written, and brings together a great amount of material. The very clear and full expositions of the dominant systems, the solid criticisms, the lucid presentation of the central doctrines of St. Thomas will be very helpful to students.

"Knowledge and Object" is a dissertation submitted at the Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is an admirable presentation of St. Thomas's doctrine of knowledge, and contains also some acute criticism of certain modern theories. J. SHINE

Miscellaneous

PRACTICE AND THEORY OF BOLSHEVISM. By Waldemar Gurian. London: Sheed & Ward. 1932. 10s. 6d.

MESSRS SHEED AND WARD have been commendably prompt in giving us a translation of Gurian's *Der Bolshevismus*. There can be little doubt that it is and will remain for a long time the standard work on its subject. Together with Cathrein's *Der Sozialismus* (which was written in 1890 and is still being re-edited again and again) Gurian's work will furnish readers with as complete an account of the philosophy and sociology of the Collectivist School as is possible to be had outside the actual original sources. It is a very high compliment to Gurian to link his book with that of Cathrein, as it is very satisfactory to find, at long last, another Catholic writer who exposes and criticises the true and actual doctrine of Collectivism. A great deal of harm has already been done by well-meaning Catholic writers who have first caricatured the collectivist doctrine and then demolished their own caricature of straw. The high praise awarded by prominent Socialists themselves to Cathrein's impartial, well-informed and understanding exposition of their principles and theories will, it is certain, be given also to Gurian, and deservedly so.

Gurian (and in this, too, he resembles Cathrein) refuses to allow himself to be led into that common error of identifying

Bolshevism or Collectivism with a certain special economic organisation and technique. The mere fact that certain economic theories, formerly believed by Socialists to be sound, have been proved by experience to be impracticable does not lead Gurian to the conclusion that Socialism is dead. Economic considerations occupy a comparatively small portion of his book. He is much more concerned with Bolshevism as a sociological phenomenon, almost as a religious movement like Mohammedanism. And it is precisely in this aspect that he sees its danger and its weakness. "The Bolsheviks," he writes, "can satisfy the characteristic human striving for a purposeful and significant life, man's natural craving to transcend the humdrum routine of daily life, to give his activities a purpose more than personal." There lies the seductive power of Marxism, not in any actual economic changes which it promises. It appeals to the workers, because it seems to them "to be the only power that gives a meaning to the life of the present day." If they have to sweat and suffer and live in wretched conditions, then it is better so to live in a society which has an appealing ideal and an explanation of all this suffering and injustice, than in one which can give no explanation of it at all.

But there, too, lies the root fallacy of the Marxian philosophy, but a fallacy extremely difficult to point out to any one convinced of the truth of this philosophy. The actual circumstances and process of becoming a convinced Marxist serve to hide the chief fallacy. For a man will only become a Marxist if he has lost faith in his own personal destiny, if he no longer believes that he, as a person, has a strictly personal end to attain. For a Marxist, if he is logical, only considers himself as an individual with an individual's essential relations to a whole, never as a person with a relation to the absolute, which relation is itself his end. And so, as Gurian puts it: "All human endeavour is measured by the standard of this cripple"—this man who is only half a man, who is only a means, and not an end.

A very welcome addition to Gurian's own exposition is had in the hundred pages of original documents, chiefly from Lenin's and Stalin's writings. They have been admirably selected. A word of praise is due to the translator for an extremely readable version of a rather difficult original. E. J. C.

A RECALL TO DANTE. By Alice Curtayne. London: Sheed & Ward. 1932. 6s.

MISS Curtayne has found a home for her talent in the Italian Middle Ages. Every book that she has written on that period is a new and stronger affirmation of the simple truth, that there is

no understanding of either Italy or the Middle Ages without the sympathy of mind and heart that comes from the possession of a common faith. From Saint Catharine of Siena and Saint Antony of Padua Miss Curtayne has turned to Dante. She has felt the call that all lovers of Italian mediaevalism must feel, and now in her turn she calls other English-reading Catholics to the study of Italy's greatest poet, who is also the unquestioned greatest poet of the Catholic Church. Strange indeed that English books on Dante have been written almost wholly by those who are strangers to the Faith. Miss Curtayne has an illuminating essay on the tradition of English Protestant prejudice in the study of Dante—a tradition which she traces back with apparent justice to Bishop Jewel and other Elizabethan controversialists. That tradition has been long-lived, and was reinforced during the nineteenth century by the anti-clerical diatribes of Ugo Foscolo, Mazzini and Rossetti. Miss Curtayne has followed a sounder tradition. For her Dante the man is the key to Dante the poet, and her opening essay on Dante's life and growth as both lover and poet is a brilliant interpretation of both *Vita Nuova* and *Divina Commedia.* We can even here gain sympathy with Dante the politician, that strangely bitter and relentless personality who so often obtrudes an unlovely passage in the great drama of the *Inferno.* The bitter hatreds of Dante's political experiences are part of the stuff of his poetry as are also his love, his faith, his learning, his imaginative and constructive power, his amazing technical skill. For all these aspects of his poetry Miss Curtayne has sympathy, and—what is even better—well-informed understanding. Her essay on Dante in English brings home with relentless illustration the loss that is necessarily borne by all those readers of Dante who are unable to read him in the full vigour of his Italian verse. *Traditori traduttori:* Cary and Longfellow are here the chief sinners, but Miss Curtayne illustrates her point from so good a prose translator as Carlyle's brother, John Aitken Carlyle. Three short essays at the end of the volume give a glimpse of Dante's piety; but from first to last this very stimulating volume is an appeal for a more direct approach to Dante as man and poet. That approach is easiest for the Catholic reader; it is only possible to those few readers outside the Church whose patient scholarship and gift of sympathy have enabled them to clear their memories of a thousand prejudices and misconceptions. We hope that Miss Curtayne will succeed in winning for Dante many new readers and admirers and lovers where they are most naturally found, in the bosom of the Catholic Church. A. G.

WHENCE THE "BLACK IRISH" OF JAMAICA? By Joseph J. Williams, S.J., Ph.D., Litt.D. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh. 1932. $2.0.

Father Williams has been attracted by the problem of those negroes in Jamaica who are known as "Black Irish." The three photographs which he prints as illustrations to his book show the type very clearly. Almost without exception, these "Black Irish" are full-blooded negroes; their names alone—Collins, O'Hare, McCormack, Kennedy, Walsh, McKeon, McDermott, Mackey, Burke—can be taken as an argument in favour of an Irish ancestry. And against the evidence of these names there has always been urged—and, in the present reviewer's opinion, rightly urged—the prevailing habit of giving to emancipated slaves the family name of their masters. One Irish name in particular has a history that deserves special note. In the Napoleonic era Hayti, to-day an independent negro republic, was troubled by frequent risings and massacres. Many negroes fled from the island at the time, and sought a home in Jamaica. They had French names for the most part; and one of these French names, Du Bourg, was easily corrupted into the Irish form, Burke.

These are the facts, as usually stated. Father Williams argues throughout his volume in favour of an Irish ancestry. In support of this thesis he brings forward the well-known facts as to the deportation of Irish servants to the Barbados by Cromwell in the seventeenth century; and he makes full use of the *Calendars* of the English State Papers, and such works as Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. But Father Williams does not seem to realise that long quotations from these sources do not prove his point. Barbados is not Jamaica—nor are the Leeward Islands, where there was undoubtedly a large Irish element down into the eighteenth century at least. Jamaica lay apart from these two centres of Irish immigration; and it is not until the very end of the seventeenth century that evidence begins to accumulate for the presence of Irish immigrants in the island. From the first, they must have been swamped in the very much larger negro population; and it is exceedingly doubtful whether the Irish element has left any real trace in the modern population. Many of the immigrant Irish servants must have moved on from the island to the mainland; and in any case the climate was not favourable to the Irish stock. For these and other similar reasons, the present reviewer still holds that Father Williams has not proved his point; though he is sure to interest many American readers in the problem of Irish emigration to the West Indies. A. G.

Books Received

ABBOTT, CLAUDE C. Early Mediæval French Lyrics. (Constable, 15/-).
ALLERS, RUDOLF. The New Psychologies. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
ASHBOURNE, LORD. Grégoire and the French Revolution. (Sands, 6/-).
BICKLEY, FRANCIS. The Pre-Raphaelite Comedy. (Constable, 10/-).
BOYER, CAROLUS. Divi Augustini. De Correptione et Gratia. (Universitas Gregoriana, L. 4).
BRAYBROOKE, P. Some Victorian and Georgian Catholics. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
BROWE, PETRUS. De Ordaliis. Decreta. (Universitas Gregoriana, L. 4).
De frequenti communione usque ad annum 1000. Documenta varia. (Universitas Gregoriana, L. 6).
BROWNE, HENRY. A Tragedy of Queen Elizabeth. (Burns Oates, 1/-).
BRUNO, FATHER. St. John of the Cross. (Sheed & Ward, 18/-).
BUCHANAN, A. Faith and Conduct of a Churchman. (Allen & Unwin, 3/-).
BURTON, O. E. A Study in Creative History. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
BUZY, DENIS. Verbum Salutis, VI.—Les Paraboles. (Beauchesne, 24fr.).
CASANUOVAS, I. The Life of Saint Alonso Rodriguez. (Sands, 3/6).
CASEY, MAGDALEN. Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Public Archives of Canada, 1878–1931. Vol. II. (Ottawa, $1.00).
CHARQUES, R. D. Soviet Education. (Hogarth Press, 1/6).
CORCORAN, T. Some Lists of Catholic Teachers and their illegal Schools in the later Penal Times. (Gill, 2/6).
COUDENHOVE, IDA. The Nature of Sanctity. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
DEVAND, EUGENE. La Pédagogie scolaire en Russie soviétique. (Desclée De Brouwer, 10 fr.).
DUDLEY, E. E. Identification of the "Walter" Prints. (National Laboratory of Psychical Research, 2/-).
DAVIS, MRS. RHYS. A Manual of Buddhism. (Sheldon Press, 7/6).
DIECKHOFF, HENRY C. A Pronouncing Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic. (Edinburgh: Johnston, 10/6).
DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER. The Modern Dilemma. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
GAFFNEY, MICHAEL H. Breaking Day. A Patrician Drama. (Gill, 1/-).
GEYL, P. Revolt of Netherlands, 1555-1609. (Williams & Norgate, 12/6).
GHIKA, VLADIMIR. La Présence de Dieu; La Souffrance; La Liturgie du Prochain. (Beauchesne, 10 fr.).
GOYAU, GEORGES. Missions and Missionaries. (Sands, 5/-).
GRAHAM, STEPHEN. Ivan the Terrible. (Benn, 18/-).
GURY, CONRAD. Fleur du Calvaire. (Desclée De Brouwer, pp. 82).
HALLER, JOHANNES. France and Germany. The History of a Thousand Years. (Constable, 7/6).
HARRISON, HENRY. Spotlights on the Anglo-Irish Quarrel. (Gill, 3d.).
HOWARD, J. The Fundamentals of Religion. (Sands, 2/6).
HOENEN, PETRUS. De Origine Formae Materialis. Textus antiqui et recentiores. (Universitas Gregoriana, L. 6).
JACOBS, OD. Une Ame d'Apôtre. Edouard Poppe. (Lethielleux, 15 fr.).
KLEIN, FELIX. Jesus and His Disciples. (Longmans, 10/6).
KORLEITNER, FRANCISCUS X. Religio Jahvae cohaereatne cum simplicitate vitae nomadum. (Innsbruck: Rauch, M. 2).
LAURENT, RENÉ. Le National-socialisme. (Hachette, 17 fr.50).
LAWTON, LANCELOT. An Economic History of Soviet Russia. 2 Vols. (Macmillan, 25/-).
LE MASSON, R. Philosophie des Nombres. (Desclée De Brouwer, 10 fr.).
LENNERZ, HENRICUS. De Obligatione Catholicorum perseverandi in fido suscepta. Documenta Vaticana. (Universitas Gregoriana, L. 4).
LODS, ADOLPHE. Israel. From its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century. Illustrated. (Kegan Paul, 25/-).
LOTH, DAVID. Philip II of Spain. (Routledge, 15/-).

LUSSEAU, ABBÉ. Manuel d'Etudes bibliques. Tome IV. (Téqui, 45 fr.).
MAGUIRE, WILLIAM. Aids to General Knowledge. (Juverna Press, 2/6).
Orthography. Examination Tests. (Juverna Press, 1/6)
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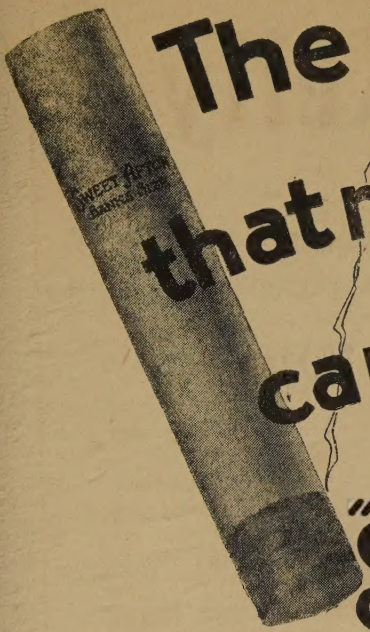

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